No. 261 / NOVEMBER 1994

THE NI

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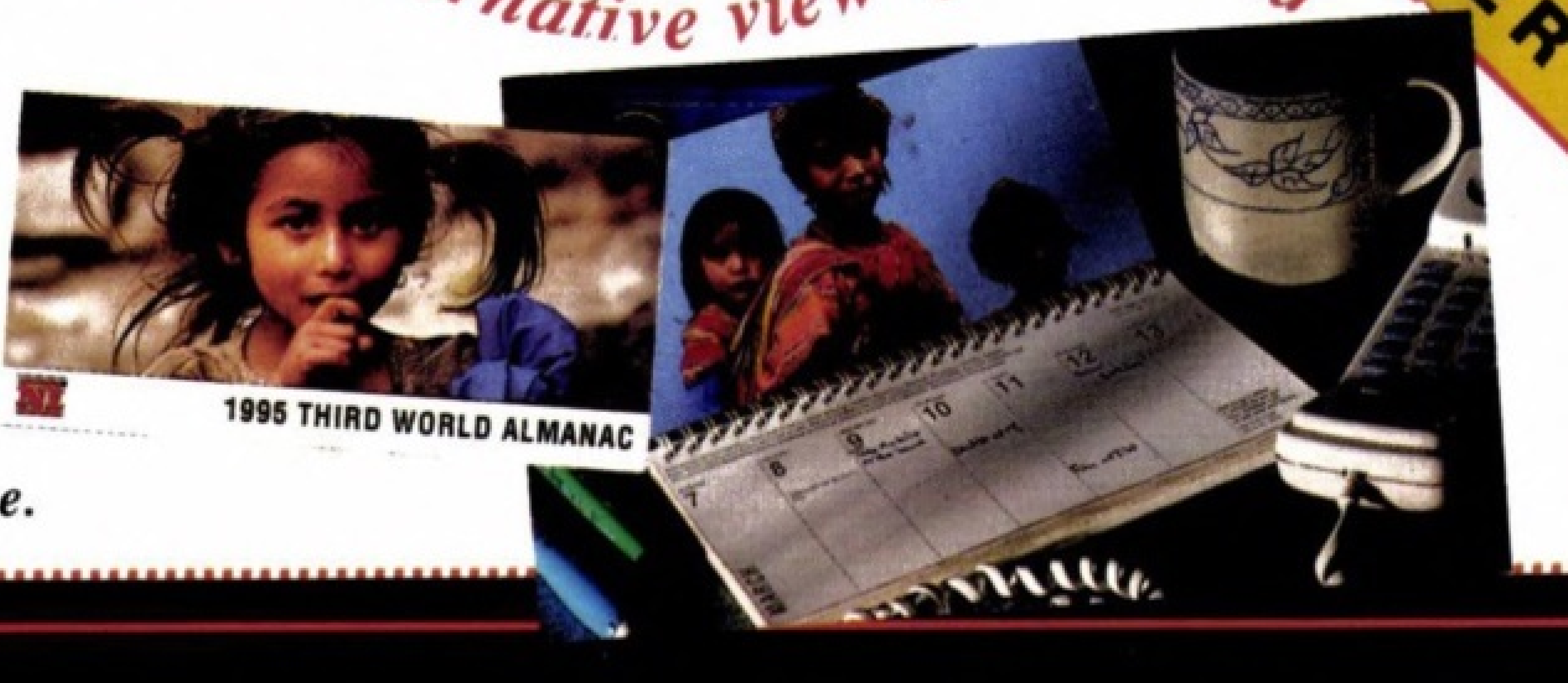
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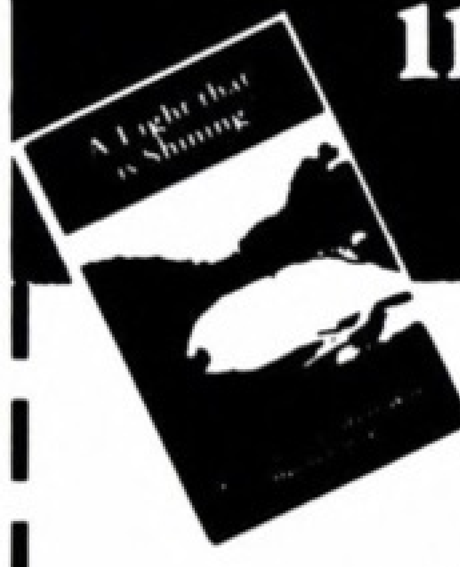

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FRONT COVER ILLUSTRATION BY **ANNE CAKEBREAD**.
MAGAZINE DESIGNED BY **IAN NIXON.**

THIS MONTH'S **THEME**

The Arms Trade

FROM THIS MONTH'S **EDITOR**

A VISITOR to **NI** recently asked: 'Yes, I can see that you produce this magazine but what do you actually *do* that's going to change anything in the world?'

Another – about a week later – asked: 'And does anything you write make any difference?'

Hard questions. Difficult things to measure. One colleague answered: 'My life is predicated on the belief that it will make *some* difference'.

Another had responded to the first question by saying that writing and designing *were* 'doing'. They certainly felt like hard work.

It's a strange prejudice when you come to think of it – the dismissal of the printed word or image as a form of action. Real activism happens on marches and demos, in meetings, on the doorstep or through lobbying politicians. Writing and designing are all a bit airy-fairy, a bit intellectual.

And yet when the two activisms come together – the practical and the intellectual – the impact can be considerable. You are far more likely to bring about change – be it in the big wide world or in your own personal world of work, friends, family, community – if you have accessible information that you might actually enjoy reading.

Ironically, this issue of the magazine was to have supported a series of films connected with conflict and the arms trade on Britain's most 'popular' television channel, ITV. But a big cheese in the organization vetoed the idea – saying that **NI** was 'too much of a campaigning magazine'.

I really don't know whether it's correct to call **NI** a 'campaigning' magazine. But perhaps the man who did so was of the school which holds that what news people have to do is present audiences with the grim realities – and not give them any sense of what could be done to change them. There is a sort of complicit decorum in such journalism. It just says: 'Here it is, it's this way'. It does not hector or challenge or say: 'Hey, it does not have to be that way, and this is why, and this is how it might be different'.

If the latter is what makes a publication a 'campaigning' one, then **NI** is happy to plead guilty.

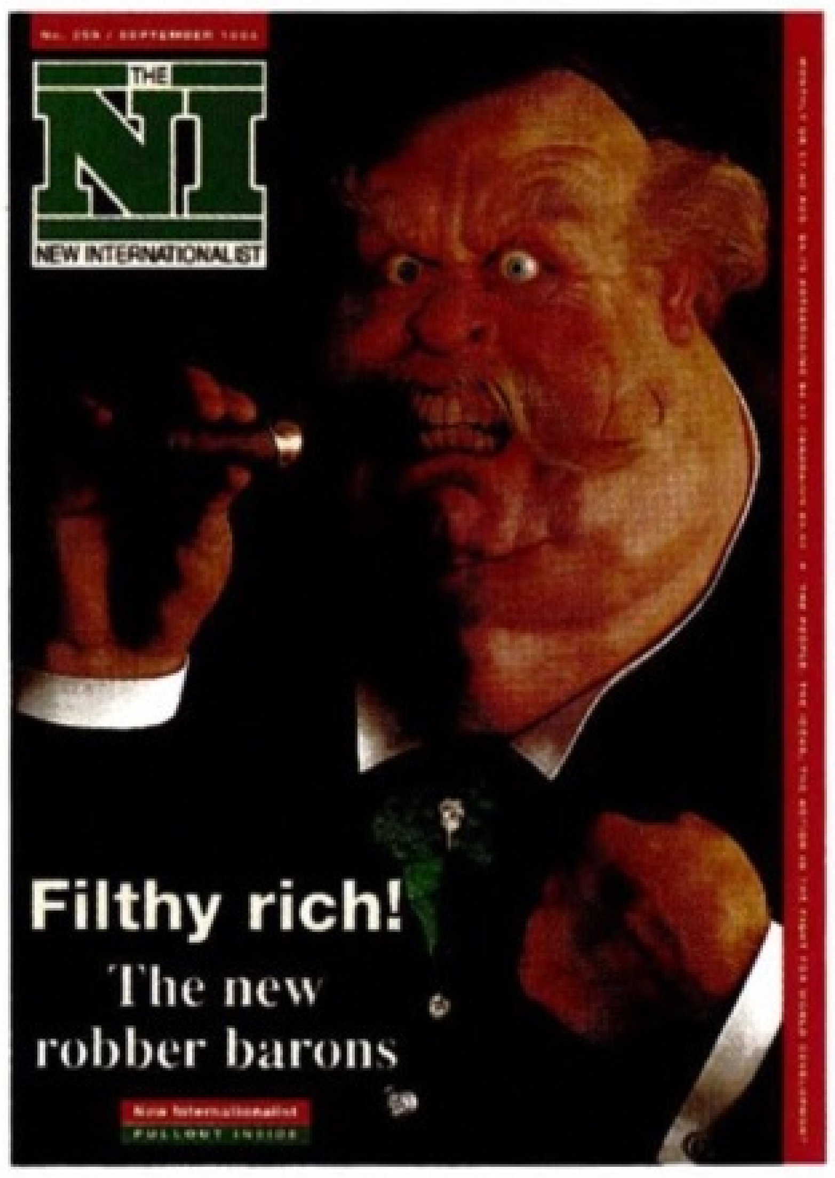
Vanessa Baird

Vanessa Baird
for the New Internationalist Co-operative

The **New Internationalist** welcomes your letters. But please keep them short. They may be edited for purposes of space or clarity. Include a home telephone number if possible and send your letters to the nearest editorial office. The address is inside the front cover.

Ad nauseam

The **NI** seems to moan too much about the admittedly repulsive excesses of capitalism but makes few positive proposals for change. I found this particularly true of your issue *Filthy rich!* (**NI 259**).



Could you not aim to be more positive (and less cosy for some of your readers) by for instance suggesting how shareholders, if they got together effectively (referendum?) could stop the absurd payments to bosses of 'their' companies, as well as political donations? More important, how could investors ensure that their money isn't being used to exploit Third World producers (Unit Trusts won't do, and environmentally 'clean' is only one part of the jigsaw)? You could for instance encourage your readers to buy from organizations – such as Traidcraft – which ensure that primary producers earn a fair return, instead of having projects excessively creamed off by large foreign firms.

Finally, does **NI** agree that capitalism, with all its horrid warts – notably the constant stimulation of greed as against decent standards – is with us to stay since the collapse of communism, or have you an alternative? If not, would it not be more constructive to champion the control of excesses, rather than complaining ad nauseam?

David Baron
Ludlow, UK

Beirut

The staff here at the Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP) has appreciated reading the issue on Beirut (**NI 258**). Good work! We were thrilled to see our name under 'Worth reading', but would like to correct the listed address. Our address is 1500 Mass Ave NW, Suite 119, Washington DC 20005. Tel: 202 223 3677, Fax: 202 223 3604.

Esther Merves
MERIP, Washington DC, US

Abortion

Michael Leydon (*Letters* **NI 256**) is entitled to his views on abortion but his case is not strengthened by his remarks on the harm such operations cause to women's health. Half a million women die worldwide each year as a direct result of pregnancy and childbirth. Many of these pregnancies are unplanned and un-wanted. Approximately 100,000 women die as a result of illegal abortions. Many are left with a life of ill-health and infertility. Legalized abortion under medical supervision and after proper counselling is extremely safe and has to be part of an effective family planning strategy to improve women's health.

Chris Lennox
Lanark, Scotland

Carpet children

I was very pleased to see the article on carpet children in Nepal (**NI 258**). It reinforced Anti-Slavery International's message that the exploitation of children in the production of hand-knotted carpets is a problem for the whole industry and not just for India. However, I was rather puzzled by the message that the Nepali carpet industry employs 10 times more children than the Indian industry. Figures for illegal child labour are notoriously inexact, but the best estimates from social action groups suggest up to 150,000 child workers in the Nepali carpet industry, up to 300,000 in India and similar numbers in Pakistan. Readers wanting to know more can obtain a copy of ASI's 1993 report on child labour in Nepal which included a section on the Kathmandu carpet factories.

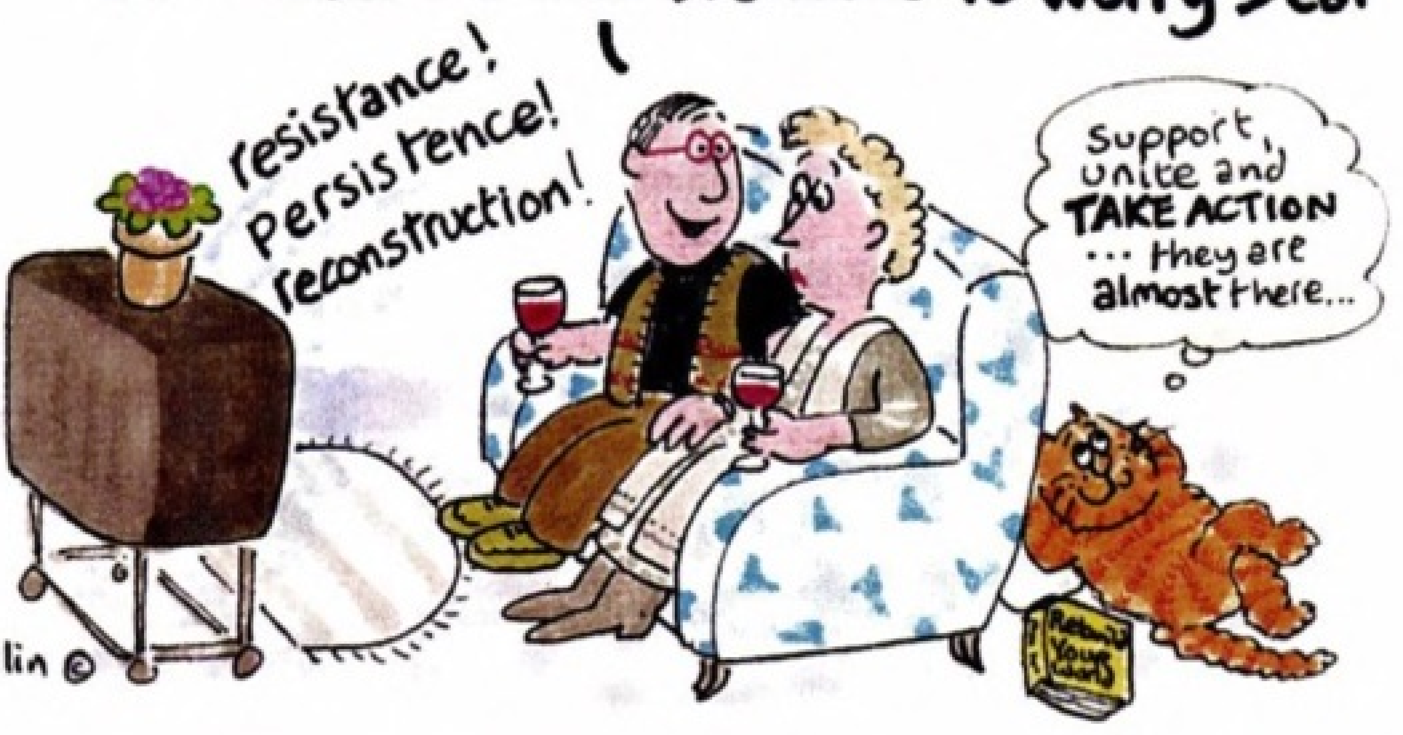
David Ould
ASI, The Stableyard, Broomgrove Road,
London SW9 9TL, UK

Resistance

NI is growing on me! After experimenting with many other reputable alternative periodicals, I am coming to appreciate **NI**'s window on the world – more readable, informative, unpretentious – a peculiar achievement, perhaps due to your more exploratory and thematic approach.

Naturally, it provides a lot of fuel for discussion among kindred spirits, and I have encountered a difficulty to throw back at you: not only is the Western press unable to get a grip on 'real news', but Westerners in general seem to have a hard time understanding the process and the paradigm of resistance, persistence and reconstruction. Insofar as we need to learn this paradigm for our own salvation, we may need to discover how much has really been lost of what is commonly still called 'community', and why our inertia stems from being securely stuck in an individuated middle-class existence given meaning chiefly by a commercial economy. Do we have to wait for conditions to force us into resistance, or can we learn from others' experience?

Charley Ice
Aotearoa/New Zealand


Oh I don't think we need to worry Dear
resistance! persistence! reconstruction!
Support, unite and TAKE ACTION ... they are almost there...
Quillin ©

VIV QUILLIN

Nuclear India

Recently the cooling towers' ceiling at the Kaiga nuclear plant in South India collapsed. India's nuclear power stations are perhaps the most unsafe in the world, yet no international body demands to inspect them. Nobody does an audit on them either. There is the suspicion that most of the funds destined for them go into the coffers of the ruling party and its bigwigs. Our nuclear plants are nothing more than nuclear sandcastles – good for nothing, producing nothing. The minister in charge of power supplies tells us, after countless billions of rupees have been poured into the non-productive nuclear industry, that if we want an efficient power-supply we should be prepared to pay much more than at present! Unless the international media are more realistic towards India (compare their attitude to Burma, North Korea, Iraq etc), things will only turn worse for the Indian people.

Madiva Patil and others
Bombay, India

Cuba

A worrying aspect of most of the general media reporting of the Cuban tragedy is the unquestioning characterization of it as the inevitable triumph of Western capitalism and democracy over a socialist command economy and a communist dictator. In pursuing this line such reporting largely ignores the sustained campaign of military invasion, assassination plots and economic isolation by the US, supported by much of the 'free world' to destroy one alternative to capitalism. It also ignores the real progress made by the Cuban revolution in education, health care and the living standards of its people despite its own shortcomings and the attacks of its powerful neighbour. Compare this with the attitudes to the 'achievements' of the murderous right-wing dictatorships in the same region of the world in reducing the living standards of the poor to the benefit of their own élites and the 'democratic' nations of the West.

If Cuba falls it will not be a victory for democracy and freedom but a further step towards the total dominance of a world economy and polity that holds within it the seeds of unrestrained environmental destruction and social conflict across the globe.

Ian Taylor
Nottingham, UK

Ed: Thanks to all those who have written in with ideas for future issues. We had a fascinating range of proposals, all of which will be discussed at our November meeting.

We have another request following the success of this one: NI is working on an issue on ageing. Nikki van der Gaag would be interested to hear from readers of all ages a) about their definitions of 'age' and b) what they feel about growing older. Write now – thoughts needed by November 16th. Thanks!

The views expressed on the letters page are not necessarily those of the NI.

The Spice of Life

We are currently working on an **NI** *food book on spices. If you've a favourite spicy recipe for a starter, main course or dessert, or even a drink or a chutney, please send it in to Troth Wells, together with a couple of lines about the spices used and where you discovered it.*

All recipes will be fully acknowledged!

Letter from Lagos

Phoning for democracy

Mobile cell-phones in Nigeria are the playboy's toy. But, as **Elizabeth Obadina** found out, they have other uses as well ...

THE ragged youth stood centre-stage on a traffic island in the middle of the Lagos morning 'go-slow' – elsewhere known as the 'rush-hour' – and held an animated conversation on his mobile telephone. He chuckled. He struck aggressive business poses. He whispered and laughed and slapped his thighs. His left hand traced expansive projects in the sky. His whole being was concentrated on his never-ending telephone conversation.

Would you dare interrupt such intense conversation? He'd be delighted. For with acting skills which would do a national drama company credit – if Nigeria had one – this young boy, straight from the village, is avoiding destitution by selling the latest hot item to be sold through the Lagos traffic jams – a fake cellular phone.

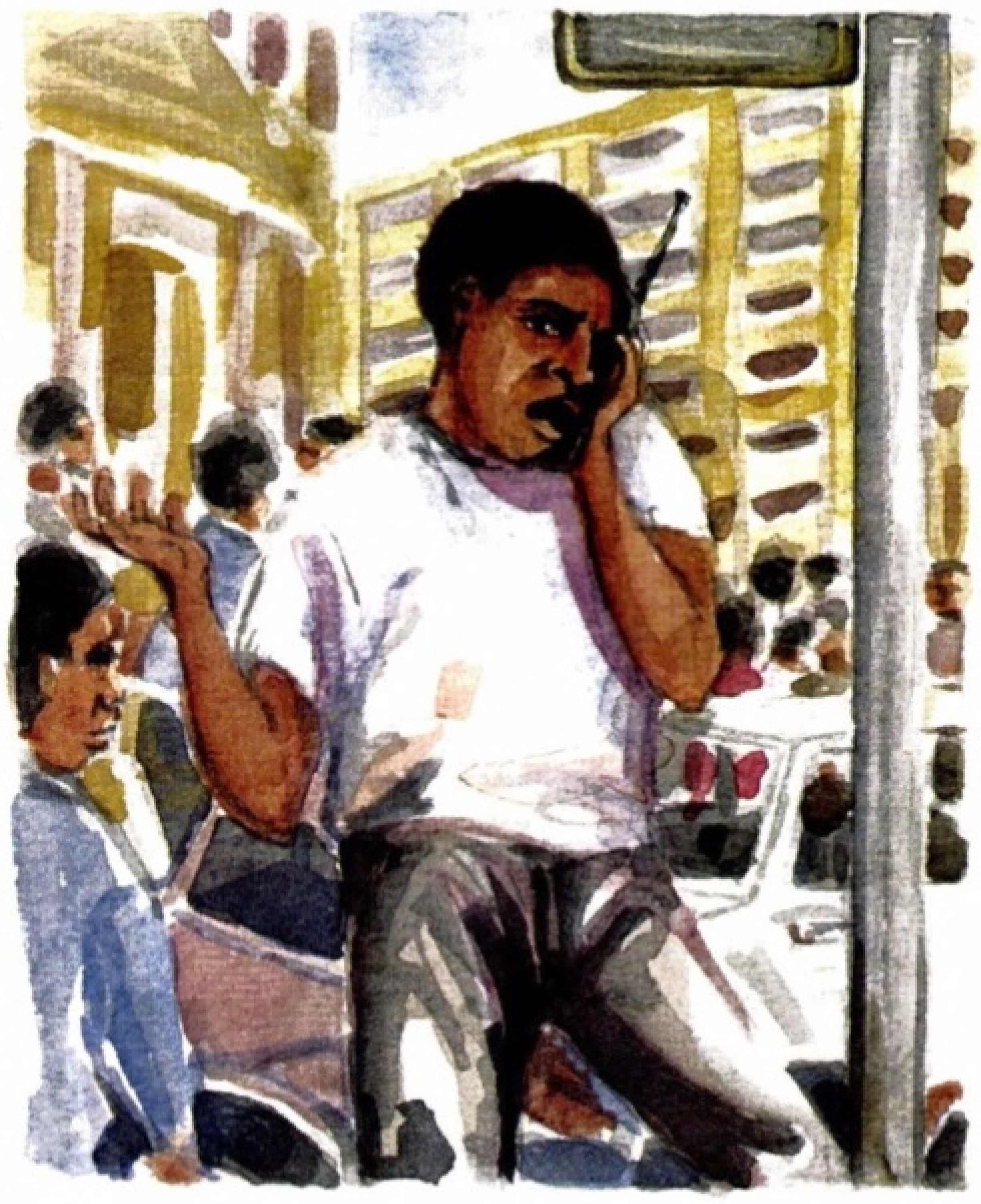


ILLUSTRATION: MIRIAM McCURDY

Telephony in general is still strictly for those with money. Mobile phones are for businesses and for the super-rich, but for a fraction of the price you can now fool your friends and pose as one of the élite.

In many ways mobile telephone technology is the ideal means of providing a telephone service for Nigeria's 90 million people. They live scattered in towns and villages which spread from the vast desert expanse of the Sahara's southern fringe, southwards through savannah and the virgin rainforests across the mountains of the Cameroon borderlands. Nigeria meets the Atlantic ocean in a morass of inaccessible mangrove swamps and deltaic lagoons.

Nowhere is very suitable for the laying of telephone land lines. The latest colonists of the southern swamplands, the oil companies, use radio communication. How wonderful cellular telephone networks would be for reaching the villages that few other services can reach. As it is mobile phones are merely the ultimate fashion accessory in the few major Nigerian cities covered by cellular phone networks. The phones lie concealed in the voluminous starched gowns worn by both men and women without ruining the fashionable cut of the cloth.

In recent months the mobile telephone has begun to rehabilitate its 'playboy, drug-dealer image and carve for itself an heroic role as a key tool in the pro-democracy movement. The mobile phone shot to prominence when we listened, rapt, one evening to the blow-by-blow account of the arrest of a former state governor recorded live by the BBC's *Focus on Africa* radio news programme – via the politician's mobile phone. The ex-governor, Chief Segun Osoba, a one-time BBC correspondent, knew the value of international news media broadcasting in a country where local media are severely restricted. He had phoned the BBC as soon as he was arrested. The military Government chafed at Western media imperialism but there were few Nigerians that evening who remained unaware of the arrest of one of the country's leading pro-democracy activists. After that incident the security police learned to search the robes of political detainees for their mobile phones.

The mobile phone was also the glue which held the pro-democracy oil workers' strike together from June to September. The strike leaders played cat-and-mouse with Nigerian security operatives and co-ordinated the strike by phone. They weren't a natural tool for the cash-strapped trade unionists. Journalists phoning one prominent strike leader would have to have their questions well-prepared and brief, as he would only allow two minutes for each interview. The union couldn't afford to pay the exorbitant charges for receiving calls charged by the telephone parastatal.

It is unfortunate, but trifling, that one by-product of the end of the pro-democracy strike is that mobile phone-users in Nigeria will once again run the risk of being identified as fraudsters and drug-barons instead of men and women of political principles. Those involved in the political struggle have had their bank balances drained by months of activism. They can't afford to use mobile phones even if they had them. Sad really that such a useful technology may once again become identified with the affluence that accompanies such dubious life-styles. ■

Elizabeth Obadina is a freelance writer and journalist living in Lagos.

Lethal Lies

EXOCET AM 39

CARLOS GUARITA / REPORTAGE

The murky world of the arms trade escapes public scrutiny most of the time. ***Vanessa Baird*** *visits Somalia, where its bloody consequences are all too apparent, and asks what can be done in a world awash with weapons.*

'I DON'T know anything about it,' says Mariam with a big, knowing smile. 'I want to live a long life,' she adds, with an even bigger smile.

We are in Hodur, a dusty little Somali town close to the Ethiopian border. A camel ambles past the open door. Beyond the camel stand shelled husks of buildings set against a vast flat landscape of shrub and sand.

I've heard that this is a gunrunning town, with a good market for AK47s and the like. There is supposed to be an embargo on arms to Somalia but the weapons are pouring in all the same – from Ethiopia, from Sudan, from Egypt, from Kenya, from Italy.

Virtually every household has a gun. Civil society has disintegrated into clan warfare. Government infrastructure has collapsed and the United Nations is trying – and mainly failing – to keep order. Fighting can flare up at any place, at any time. The guns come out of the houses and all hell is let loose.

But Mariam does not want to talk about this. She wants to talk about nutrition. She is here running a UNICEF mother-and-child health post. People in this region suffered greatly during the height of the civil-war-created famine that claimed 300,000 lives two years ago. The skeletal images from Baidoa that haunted our television screens in 1992 would have come from Hodur had the TV crews got as far as this place.

There is still malnutrition today – about 20 per cent of children are affected – and a feeding centre continues to operate. But the situation is vastly improved. The problem now is trying to find ways of generating income apart from gun-trading. What do the women who come to the health centre have to say about the fighting?

'They don't talk about it,' says Mariam firmly. 'They are concerned with the health of the children. With making sure they get enough to eat.'

The missing link

Mariam's attitude is altogether understandable. She is firmly focused on her immediate objective. And besides, too much talk can cost you your life in this place.

But she is not the only person unwilling to discuss the trade in weapons. Before coming to Somalia I had conversations with some high-ranking United Nations officials in Nairobi. They were quite happy to talk about the conflict in Somalia, to condemn militarism and the damage done by the 'men with guns'.

But on the subject of how and from whom those men with guns got those arms, they shut up or went off the record.

Why? There are many complex reasons – and one very simple one. The countries

PAONI / KATZ

A clash of clans – and out come the guns. Somalia's Cold War legacy of massive arsenals is today compounded by a booming global trade in second-hand weapons.

that are the most powerful in the UN are those which have permanent seats on the Security Council. These are the US, Russia, the UK, France and China – the Big Five. They also happen to be the world's biggest suppliers of arms – accounting for 86 per cent of sales to the developing world. During his 21-year rule – which ended in 1991 – Somali dictator Siad Barre built up a huge arsenal of arms, supplied first by the former USSR, then by the US. From 1980 to 1990 nearly three-quarters of his arms came from the US. During this time Somalia was spending five times as much on the military as on health and education put together – the highest ratio in the world.[1]

I'm thinking about this deadly legacy while standing on the tarmac of Mogadishu airport, having flown to the capital city of Somalia from Hodur a few hours earlier. The runway is surrounded by barbed wire and UN armoured vehicles. Fighting between the clans of the two main opposing warlords in Mogadishu – General Aideed and Ali Mahdi – has got so bad during the past few days that I can't get security clearance to enter the city. Most of the development agencies still here have moved their operations onto the airport tarmac.

I'm watching an aircraft being loaded up with UN emergency relief supplies. Unused in Somalia, they are being redirected to Rwandan refugees in Goma, Zaire. The news coverage of that crisis has so far focused on 'tribal' conflict – with the connotations of the 'primitive' and 'uncivilized' that accompany that word.

Little has been said about the fact that while the former Hutu government of Rwanda was conducting its genocidal campaign against Tutsis and other political opponents, 'civilized' countries like France and South Africa were busy supplying the murdering regime with military equipment.[2]

The arms trade has never been ethical. But the pressures on suppliers to sell are greater today than ever. There are too many of them chasing a shrinking post-Cold War market in a world that may seem conflict-ridden to the normal person, but is not nearly conflict-rich enough for the trade. Embargoes are vigorously circumvented whenever and wherever possible.

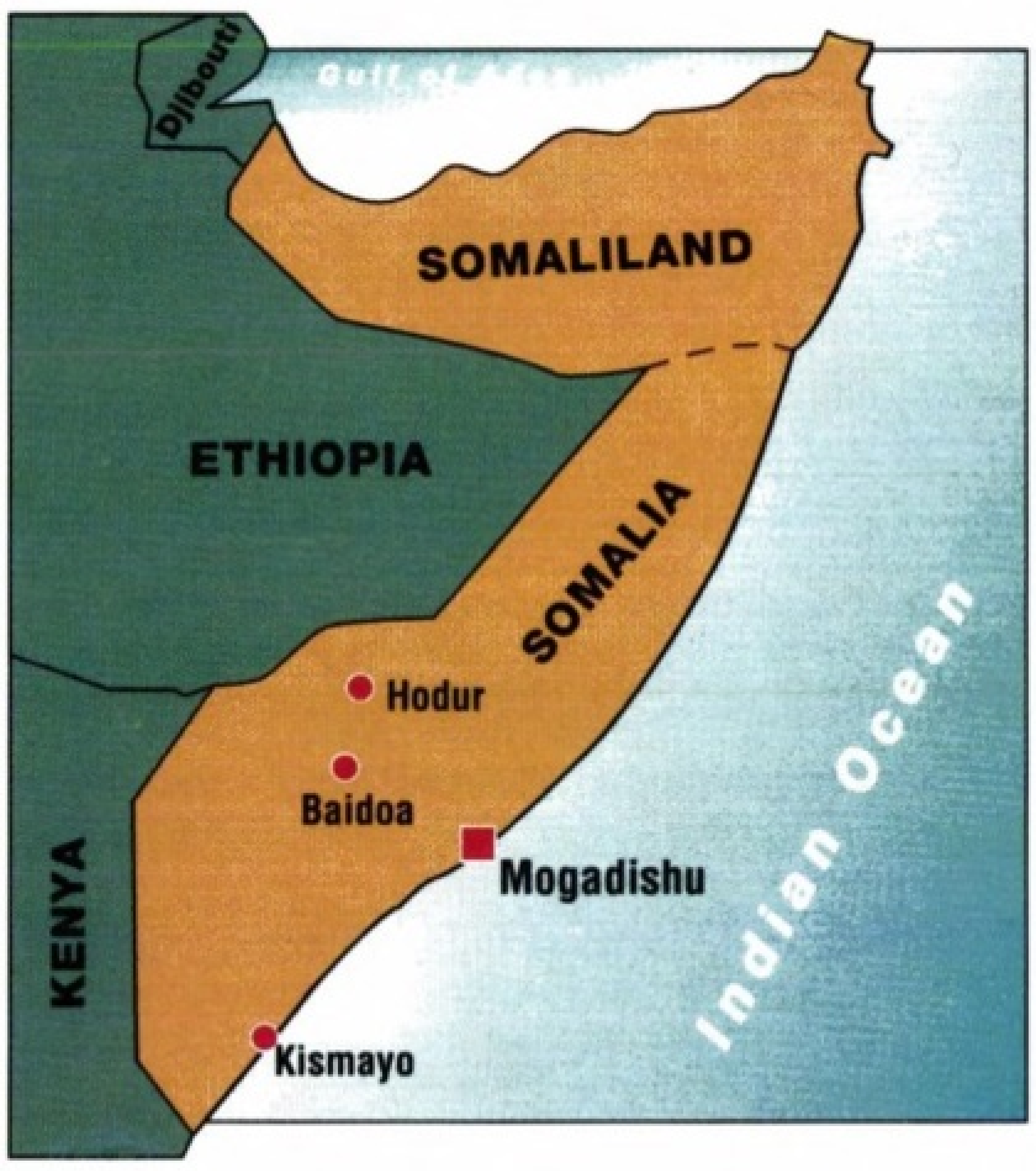
There are two main reasons for this state of affairs. One is the cascade of surplus arms that NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries have unleashed on the world as a result of the scaling-down of their own militaries at the end of the Cold War.

The other reason is that military spending cuts in the North have caused a fall in domestic demand. The most usual response to this from arms manufacturers has not been to diversify and make something else, but a frantic export drive – the targets being the world's trouble spots.

The arms trade cannot be blamed for starting the conflicts in Bosnia or Angola or Sudan or Burma or Turkey. But it is certainly playing a major role in prolonging these conflicts, in shattering hopes of democracy and replacing them with the rule of the gun and armed madness.

Ambushing development

Nowhere is this more in evidence than in Somalia. From Mogadishu I fly down to



the southern port of Kismayo. It's only 14 kilometres from the airport to the town but the stretch of road that links the two is reckoned to be too dangerous to travel. The only way in is to get a helicopter from the airport to the seaport and from there take a military escort into town.

The military escort is incredible. It consists of a convoy of three 'technicals' – jeeps fitted with machine guns, an army truck and about 15 jittery Indian soldiers. They have reason to be nervous – two of their colleagues were killed recently by a Somali militia.

At the UNICEF residence, Baba, the Nigerian aid worker in charge, explains that he and his colleagues have to be accompanied by the convoy whenever they set foot out of their compound. Aid workers are targets in Somalia – UNICEF has lost 11 staff so far. Agencies hire vehicles which come complete with armed militiamen for protection.

It's hard to see how any development work can be done under conditions where visiting a project becomes a major military exercise. Aid workers feel frustrated. The temptation to ignore the security procedures is great.

On 2 January 1992, one of Baba's predecessors, Sean Devereux, did not take the convoy. He set out to walk the 20 minutes home from the office. He was shot and killed by a local militiaman. The outspoken British aid worker had recently gone on Radio Mogadishu and talked about clan control, about militias and about the part played by the arms trade.

Devereux had worked in Liberia prior to coming to Somalia and had come to the conclusion that the single biggest obstacle to development was the arms trade. He also became aware of the secrecy, silence and hypocrisy that surrounds the trade and was determined not to keep quiet about it.

For your own good

His anger and frustration – though not necessarily his courage – are shared by many. And yet those governments most heavily implicated in the buying and selling of arms can carry on doing so with precious little scrutiny or criticism.

The governments and military élites of poor countries that spend outrageous sums on weapons tell their populations that the weapons are necessary for security reasons. In most cases, though, the security they are providing is for themselves, for their own power base, at the expense of their people.

Take the case of Pakistan. In 1992 the Government ordered 40 Mirage 2000E fighters and three Tripartite aircraft from France. The cost of that one deal could have provided safe water for two years for all the 55 million people who lack it, family planning services for the estimated 20 million couples, essential medicines for the nearly 13 million people without access to health care and basic education for the 12 million children not in primary school.[1]

People in many Third World countries have no idea just how profligate their governments and military élites have been. But the truth may yet emerge. For the past three years the IMF has started collecting data on the military debts of developing countries, some of which look set to exceed their developmental debts.

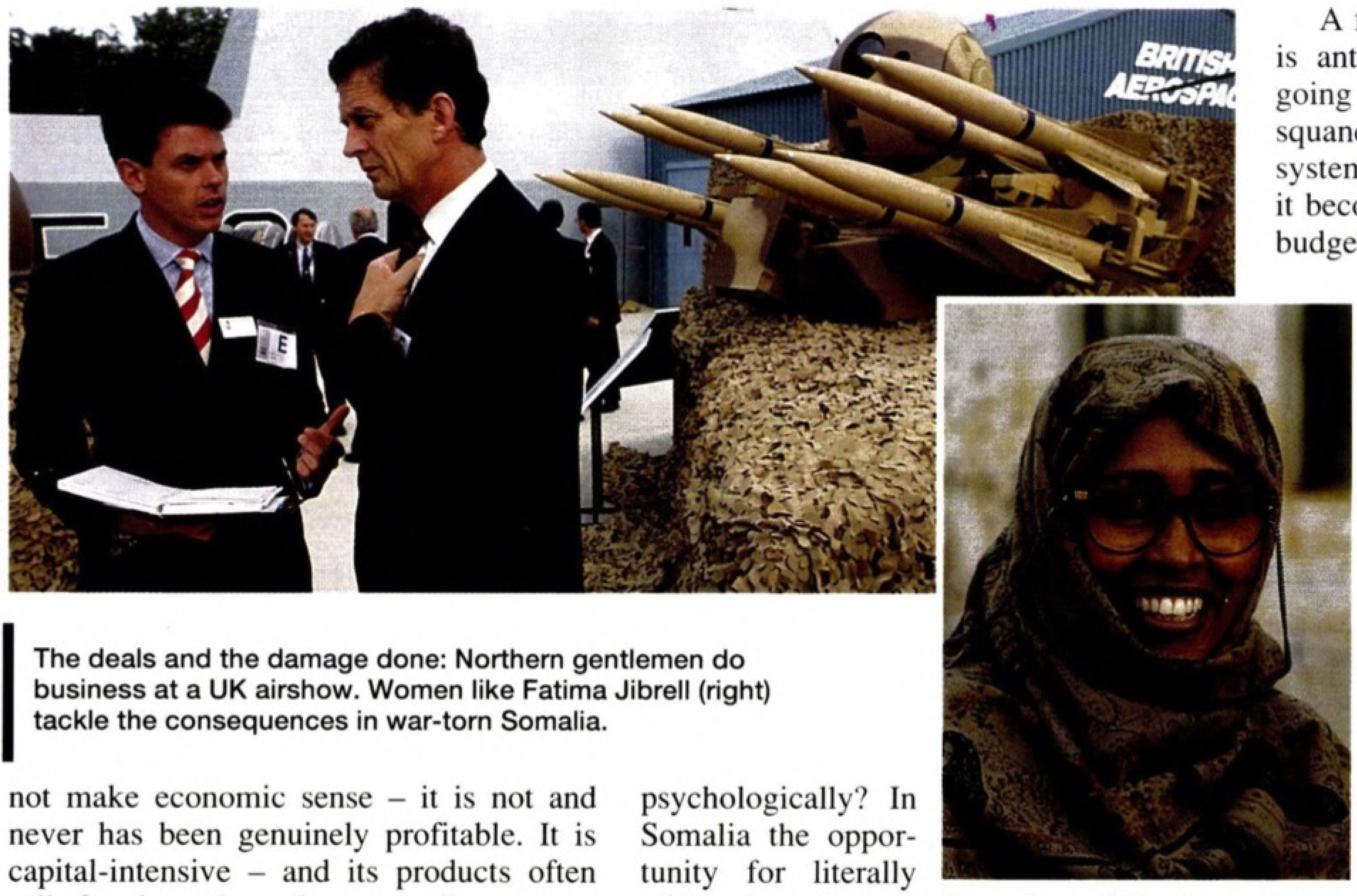
The governments of countries that are major suppliers of arms also tell their people that the arms trade is good for them. During the Cold War the argument was that we needed ever-more sophisticated weapons to protect us from the 'enemy'. The military industrial-complex was cast in the West as the profitable 'booster rocket' of capitalism. For this reason industrializing countries like Brazil, South Korea and Indonesia were keen to get in on the act.

But today the most powerful argument for maintaining a defence industry in the North is employment – or rather the prospect of massive unemployment if it goes. It is estimated that of the 14 million defence-industry jobs in the world today, four million will have been lost by 1998.[1]

It may seem paradoxical, but evidence is mounting that the arms trade actually *creates* unemployment. To see how this works you need to look at the larger picture and the longer term. The arms trade does

A greater deception. The powerful nations pity the Kurds – while arming their Turkish oppressors.

BERNSTEIN / SPOONER



The deals and the damage done: Northern gentlemen do business at a UK airshow. Women like Fatima Jibrell (right) tackle the consequences in war-torn Somalia.

not make economic sense – it is not and never has been genuinely profitable. It is capital-intensive – and its products often sell for less than they actually cost to produce. Defence manufacture is not even particularly labour-intensive. But during the Cold War it was hugely subsidized by the public via over-priced defence-ministry contracts. If the public money that was sunk into the arms industry had gone into a host of smaller, more flexible high-tech enterprises it would have created more wealth and more employment.[3]

Today it is no longer possible to justify such huge public spending on defence. Instead all sorts of hidden subsidies are used to keep defence manufacturers afloat. In the UK an entire government department – The Defence Export Services Organization – is geared solely to promoting arms sales. Western governments have also been keen to underwrite loans and 'export credits' to potential buyers of weapons with the effect that taxpayers in the selling country are actually footing the bill for up to a third of all weapons sold.[4]

You are not likely to know about this – because the arms trade is shrouded in government secrecy. No other business is so officially protected from public scrutiny. The excuse is 'national security interests'. This calls to mind the child abuser who invokes family unity to establish the abuse as 'our secret' and obtain collusion.

We have all been abused by the arms trade, in one way or another. From the unemployed worker in Detroit to the skinny, withdrawn child in Baidoa taking part in a programme for war-traumatized children.

A civil society

So what can be done in this world battered into a military mould? What can we do to disarm our societies both physically and psychologically? In Somalia the opportunity for literally taking the guns away from the militias has passed. But there is another, perhaps more durable way. The seemingly insatiable demand for arms can only be lessened by creating a civil society based on peaceful, democratic forms of organization. Somalia has local teachers, health workers and others committed to this. Fatima Jibrell, for example, has returned from exile in the US and is trying to set up women's projects with this in mind. She shows me a text that Somali women took to a conference in Addis Ababa in March 1993. It begins:

'We Somali women have followed behind our men in the wake of the devastation and destruction of our homeland. Now it is time we leave our role as followers and become leaders of our people into peace.'

Transforming a military culture and economy into a civil one is a task for all of us in this post-Cold War era. There *was* a golden opportunity to do so. Cuts in military spending from 1987-94 produced a global peace dividend of $935 billion – $810 billion of this in industrial nations. Where has it gone? The simple shocking answer is: it disappeared, no-one knows exactly where. According to a United Nations Development Programme report: 'Most savings appear to have been spent on reducing budget deficits, rather than on development or on environmental improvements.'[1]

The text goes on to say: 'It is frustrating that – just as social and human agendas were pushed aside at a time of rising military budgets, they continue to be neglected even when military budgets are being reduced.' Not just 'frustrating', it's outrageous that governments have used this money to conceal their own economic incompetence.

A future peace dividend of $460 billion is anticipated for 1995-2000. Is the UN going to sit back and let governments squander this too? Or is it going to agree systems to keep track of this money so that it becomes an accountable item in national budgets? The UN could do much in this area. It could take up the proposal of Nobel Peace Prize winner Oscar Arias to set up a global demilitarization fund, large chunks of which would be spent on converting from military to non-military production and retraining demobilized soldiers.

Today the UN finds itself with the role of peacekeeper in many areas of conflict around the world. It is reaping the harvest of decades of military build-up and arms trading. Would it not make sense to tackle the problem at an earlier stage? Some tentative steps are being taken. UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali has introduced a voluntary Conventional Arms Control Register which could lead to greater openness and accountability. But it is only voluntary and several countries have refused to comply. The UN also seems poised to ban the trade in certain arms, such as landmines. And there is talk of taxing arms transfers.

But while arms sales are the norm it is easy for traders to get round obstacles, such as bans on particular weapons or embargoes against certain countries. What if, however, there were a global ban on all arms sales which was lifted only in exceptional cases? People facing genocide at the hands of well-armed aggressors – the Kurds for example, or the Bosnian Muslims – might constitute 'an exceptional case'.

The main pressure the UN will have to exert in the next few years will be on its most powerful members: the main arms-selling countries, the Big Five. 'Bloody warlords,' said one angry Somali health worker referring to those men whose struggle for power has brought the country to its knees. 'Nobody wants them.' Indeed. But 'warlords' come in all shapes, sizes and guises. Those people in the corridors of political or corporate power who are easing the bloodiest trade in the world could be described as 'warlords' of a kind. And we don't want them either. The lies, secrets and silences that surround and protect their activities are not only immoral, abusive and undemocratic. They are lethal. ■

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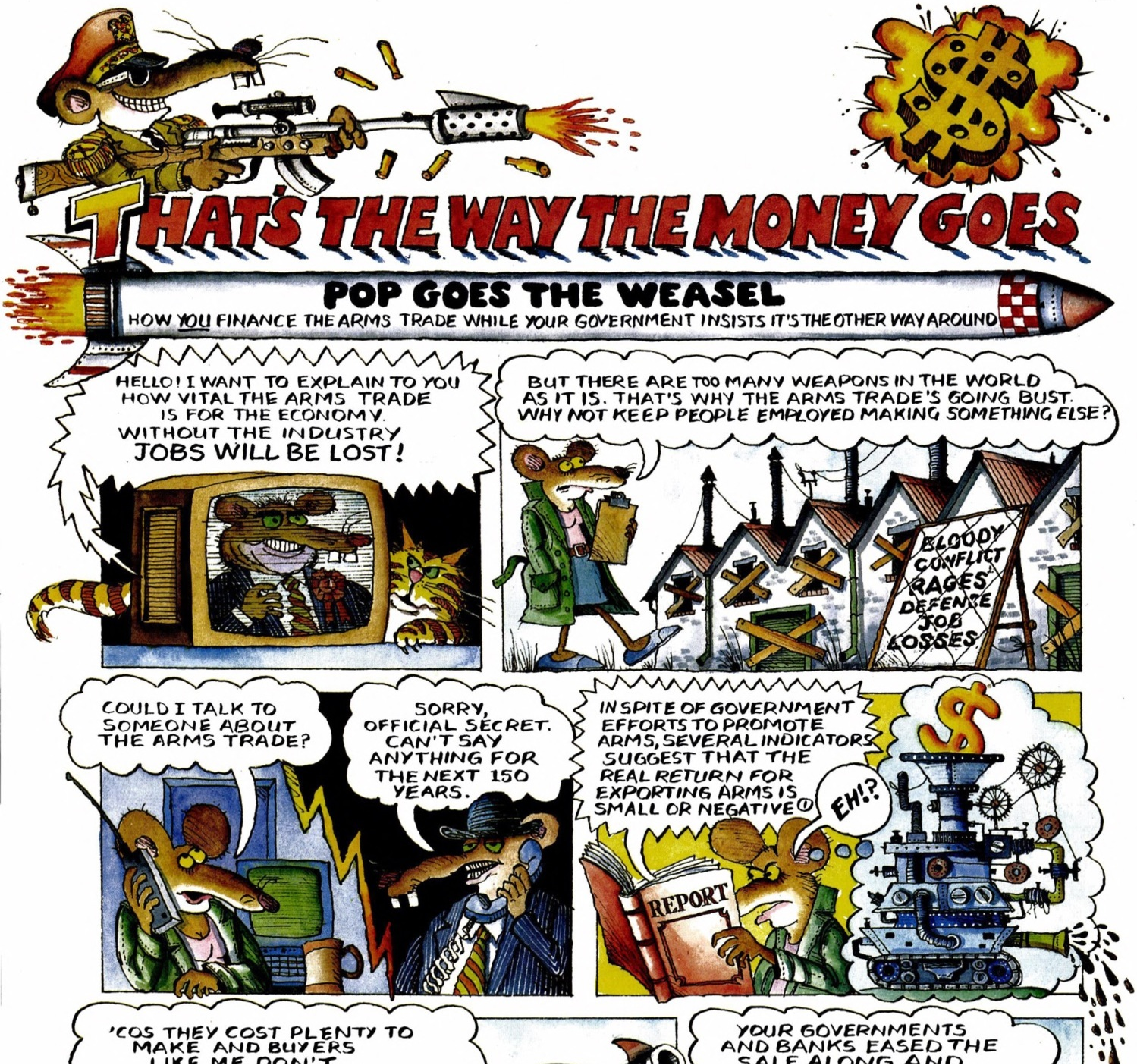
1 United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report* 1994. **2** Human Rights Watch, US 1994. **3** Trust for Research and Education on the Arms Trade, London 1994. See also the work of Mary Kaldor and Seymour Elman. **4** World Development Movement, London 1994.

THAT'S THE WAY THE MONEY GOES

POP GOES THE WEASEL

HOW *YOU* FINANCE THE ARMS TRADE WHILE YOUR GOVERNMENT INSISTS IT'S THE OTHER WAY AROUND


HELLO! I WANT TO EXPLAIN TO YOU HOW VITAL THE ARMS TRADE IS FOR THE ECONOMY. WITHOUT THE INDUSTRY JOBS WILL BE LOST!
BUT THERE ARE TOO MANY WEAPONS IN THE WORLD AS IT IS. THAT'S WHY THE ARMS TRADE'S GOING BUST. WHY NOT KEEP PEOPLE EMPLOYED MAKING SOMETHING ELSE?
BLOODY CONFLICT RAGES DEFENCE JOB LOSSES
COULD I TALK TO SOMEONE ABOUT THE ARMS TRADE?
SORRY, OFFICIAL SECRET. CAN'T SAY ANYTHING FOR THE NEXT 150 YEARS.
IN SPITE OF GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO PROMOTE ARMS, SEVERAL INDICATORS SUGGEST THAT THE REAL RETURN FOR EXPORTING ARMS IS SMALL OR NEGATIVE ①
EH!?
REPORT
'COS THEY COST PLENTY TO MAKE AND BUYERS LIKE ME DON'T PAY FOR THEM!!!! HEE! HEE! ①
WITH ♥ FROM THE WEST
YOUR GOVERNMENTS AND BANKS EASED THE SALE ALONG AND YOU PICKED UP THE TAB WITH YOUR TAXES SUCKER! ②
?

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1 The defence industry is capital-intensive. Expensive components have to be imported and the final product may cost more to make than it can be sold for. Overproduction has made this a buyer's market – with the result that many arms deals are now offset with the exporting country's government giving credits to the importing country.

2 People in the North are having their money – deposited in banks or paid as tax – gambled on the global arms bazaar. There are many hidden subsidies. In the US an estimated one-third of US exports are paid for not by foreign governments buying the arms but by US taxpayers. Hidden subsidies take the form of loans for sales, forgiveness for past military debts – $7 billion to Egypt for its role as an ally in the Gulf War – and arms-related training. In 1989 the UK Government gave export credits to cover $9.75 million of machine tools bound for an Iraqi chemical-weapons factory – routed through Chile. Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein has indicated that he has no intention of paying for this.

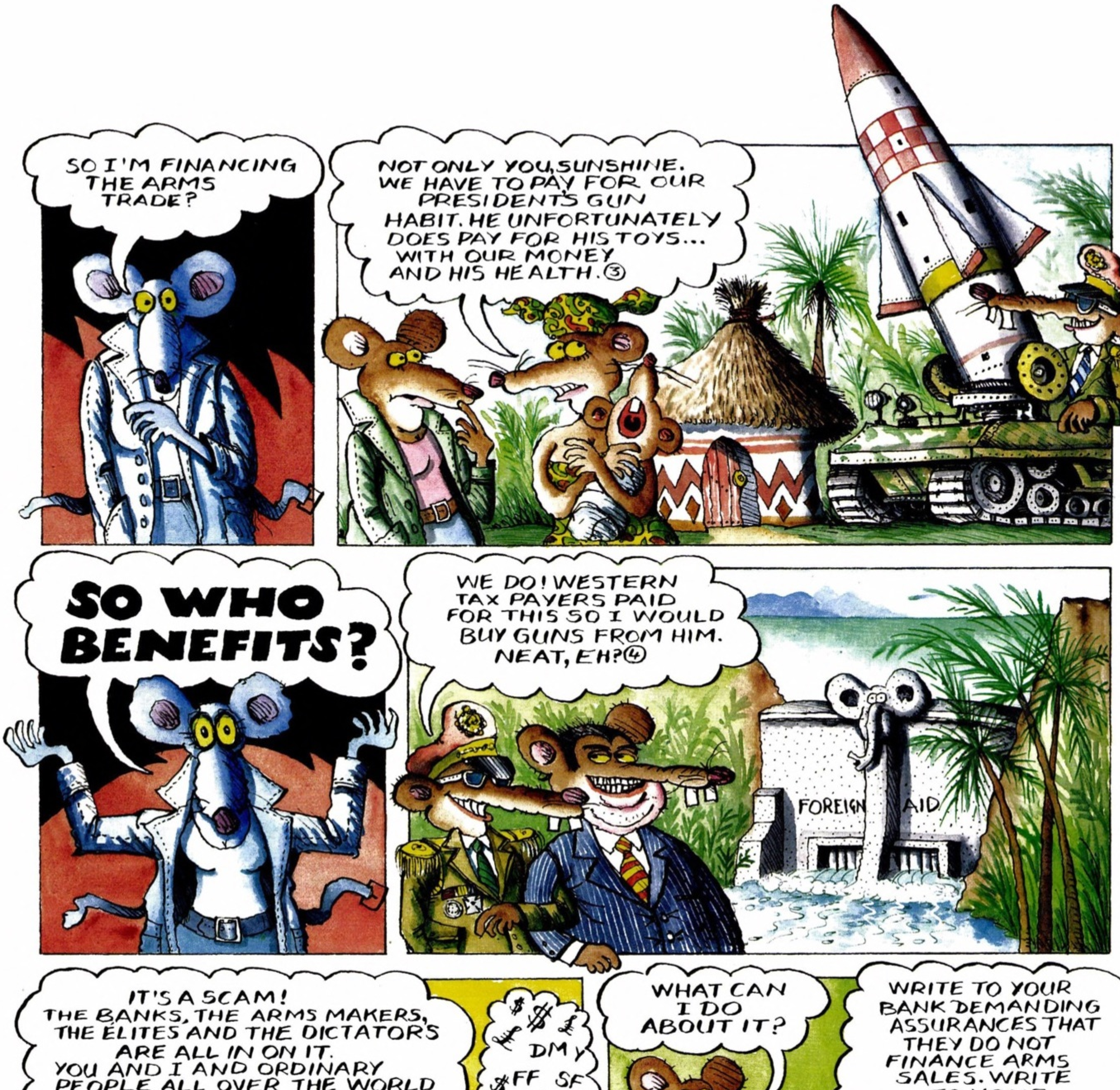

SO I'M FINANCING THE ARMS TRADE?
NOT ONLY YOU, SUNSHINE. WE HAVE TO PAY FOR OUR PRESIDENT'S GUN HABIT. HE UNFORTUNATELY DOES PAY FOR HIS TOYS... WITH OUR MONEY AND HIS HEALTH. ③
SO WHO BENEFITS?
WE DO! WESTERN TAX PAYERS PAID FOR THIS SO I WOULD BUY GUNS FROM HIM. NEAT, EH? ④
FOREIGN AID
IT'S A SCAM! THE BANKS, THE ARMS MAKERS, THE ELITES AND THE DICTATORS ARE ALL IN ON IT. YOU AND I AND ORDINARY PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD PAY FOR IT. NO WONDER THESE OFFICIALS LIKE THEIR "SECRETS" SO MUCH.
DM ¥ FF SF
WHAT CAN I DO ABOUT IT?
WRITE TO YOUR BANK DEMANDING ASSURANCES THAT THEY DO NOT FINANCE ARMS SALES. WRITE TO YOUR GOVERNMENT SAYING YOU WANT YOUR MONEY SPENT ON AID, NOT ARMS.
KORKY

ILLUSTRATION BY KORKY PAUL

3 At least one-fifth of Third World debt was incurred by buying weapons. Nigeria could have immunized two million children with the money its Government spent on 80 British battle tanks in 1992. India could have provided basic education for all the 15 million girls not in school with the money it spent on 20 Russian MiG-29 fighter aircraft, in the same year. And Iran could have provided essential medicines to the whole country several times over for the cost of two submarines.

4 Government development aid has been given as a 'sweetener' for the arms trade. For example, the British Overseas Development Agency was ordered to fund the unpopular and uneconomic Pergau dam project in Malaysia in exchange for arms contracts. Globally, poor countries with big arms budgets get twice as much aid per person as those which spend less on military goods. El Salvador gets five times as much aid as Bangladesh – even though the latter has twenty-four times more people and is five times poorer.

Thanks to the World Development Movement and to the Trust for Research and Education into the Arms Trade for supplying information which formed the basis of this cartoon strip.

Sssshh...

*Strange things started happening when journalist **David Hellier** got stuck into investigating possible British Government connivance in illegal arms sales to Iraq.*

MY introduction to the arms world came one morning a few months before the beginning of the 1991 Gulf War. I had arranged a meeting with the former chairman of Astra, a defence manufacturer that had run into trouble.

As a financial journalist, I wanted to know why his company had plummeted from being a high-flying stock market sensation to its then position of virtual bankruptcy. What he told me left me bewildered and intrigued. It also changed the direction of my career for the next few years as I tried to pursue some of the things he said.

He alleged that during the 1980-88 war between Iraq and Iran the British Government had actively encouraged the sale of weapons to Iraq, and possibly Iran, in spite of a declared veto on doing so; that British banks were actively supporting this effort and had highly-trained teams helping them do so; and that people close to the British Government, including possibly the former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's son Mark, were making large sums of money from the arms trade.

I decided to introduce my new contact to the defence correspondent of the newspaper on which I worked, the London-based *Sunday Correspondent*. Together we pursued leads, and several weeks before the Gulf War in 1991 we published stories revealing how Britain had helped arm Saddam Hussein.

'Sensitive work'

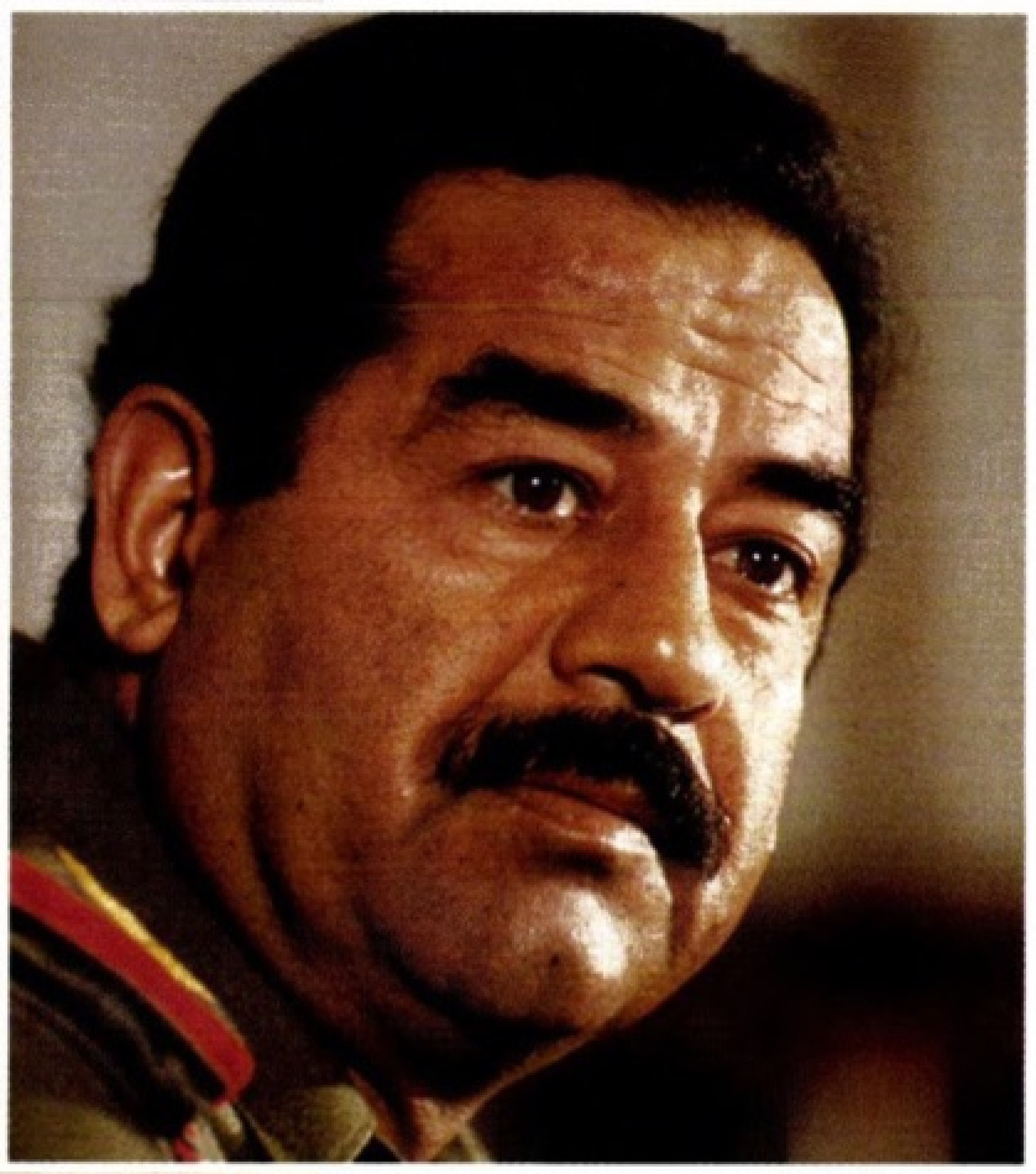
Things seemed to be going well at that stage. The *Sunday Correspondent* was an exciting, independent newspaper whose editor was supportive of the work we were trying to do in uncovering Government hypocrisy in its relationship with Iraq. And our line of questioning was causing nervousness in some institutions – the Midland Bank, for example. This bank – one of the four major British banks – had many millions of financial credits to Iraq.

During a briefing session with the Midland's press officer we asked about a certain consultant to the bank called Stephan Kock, who also happened to be a director of Astra. What role did he have? The bank's press officer told us that he was involved in bringing mainly civilian business to the bank and that he came in on a regular basis.

We then asked whether this was the same Mr Kock who had been tried and fined for firing a shotgun at two men in a quiet road in Argyllshire. When asked in court why he had been carrying a gun, Kock is reported to have replied: 'because of the sensitive nature of my work'. As soon as we recounted this tale, the bank's press officer changed tack and tried to disown the man. He suggested that he rarely came to the bank any more, that he

BEN GIBSON / KATZ

Would the Gulf War (above) have happened if Saddam Hussein (top right) had not received millions in credits from British banks? Is or isn't Mark Thatcher (centre right) connected with the arms trade? Why was former Defence Secretary John Nott (bottom right) interested in reporters' stories?



PIERRE PERRIN / SPOONER

PIERRE PERRIN / SPOONER

BRYN COLTON / CAMERA PRESS

was very much a 'part-time' consultant.

Three years later Mr Kock appeared before a UK Parliamentary Select Committee looking into the Iraqi 'supergun' affair. This concerned the illegal export of military equipment from Britain to Iraq. To this day the Midland has never satisfactorily explained what sort of work Mr Kock did for the bank, nor why the bank was so supportive to Iraq during the 1980s even after Saddam Hussein's genocidal gassing of thousands of Kurds.

Then, in the summer of 1990 the editor of the *Sunday Correspondent* was replaced by a new editor who showed little interest in the story. The paper had also started employing a former defence secretary, Sir John Nott, as a consultant. His job was to try to raise new funds for the paper. But he also considered it part of his duty to ask each of us what stories we were working on. I did not mention to him my interest in the arms to Iraq affair and felt there was little point in pushing the story much further.

Accidents and a death

During this period something happened to unsettle me. I was walking home one night on the pavement of a busy main road when a car slid onto the pavement and knocked me to the ground. I was shocked but not badly hurt. Though I believed this to be an accident my contacts in the defence world thought otherwise. They told me that it was also likely my phone was being tapped and that I was being followed. I had no evidence of this, but it was worrying all the same. On one occasion I spotted a photographer taking pictures of me with one of my contacts as we sat in a pub during one of his days on release from prison.

I then discovered that another journalist, who was working on the same story at the London *Observer* newspaper, had received a warning that something might happen if she continued her investigations. Her paper took this seriously and put her up in a hotel for a few days.

Other things happened to disturb me. One of my contacts died suddenly, days after giving me a lift to the trial of the former chief executive of Astra who was being charged with corruption. The person in question, Lionel Jones, complained on the way down to the trial about a boil on his neck. Whilst his sudden death appeared to me to be bad luck, again my contacts thought otherwise.

It soon became clear to me that I would need some sort of support from my newspaper if I were to continue working on the story. At the very least I would need somebody to talk to. This was not forthcoming at the re-styled *Sunday Correspondent* whose editors did not think I should be spending time on this story. I was effectively silenced. I moved on to the *Independent* newspaper, where I was able to work intermittently on the story whilst doing more regular financial journalism.

Then, in early summer 1992 the Parliamentary Select Committee stepped up its inquiries into the Iraqi 'supergun' affair. When did the Government know about the 'supergun'? Why did it allow firms to carry on supplying it? And why, having arrested the people who did so, did customs officers then drop all charges against the accused?

For a few weeks the *Independent* became keen on the arms story. Alas, just as I was making progress and provoking the threat of injunctions from some fairly powerful people, the paper moved me on to another story which was considered more important. I decided to leave.

Secret links

I spent the next year making two television programmes for Channel 4 about the arms trade.

As our programmes neared completion a significant event occurred. Three executives from the firm Matrix-Churchill, charged with exporting machine tools to Iraq for military use, were cleared after documents read out in court showed how they had kept MI5 – the British Government security service – informed about their activities throughout.

At last the story caught the media's attention. It was on every front page. The Government, worried by the prospect of a trial-by-media, set up an Inquiry under Lord Justice Scott to investigate some aspects of the scandal. At the time of writing the investigation is still under way.

Why had it all taken so long? Already, back in 1989 there were journalists on a number of leading newspapers who suspected that the Government had been playing a double game with Iraq; that it had been telling people one thing and doing something quite different. There were also journalists who realized that a number of business people who had been charged for various arms offences could never be successfully prosecuted because of what they knew about the Government's misdemeanours.

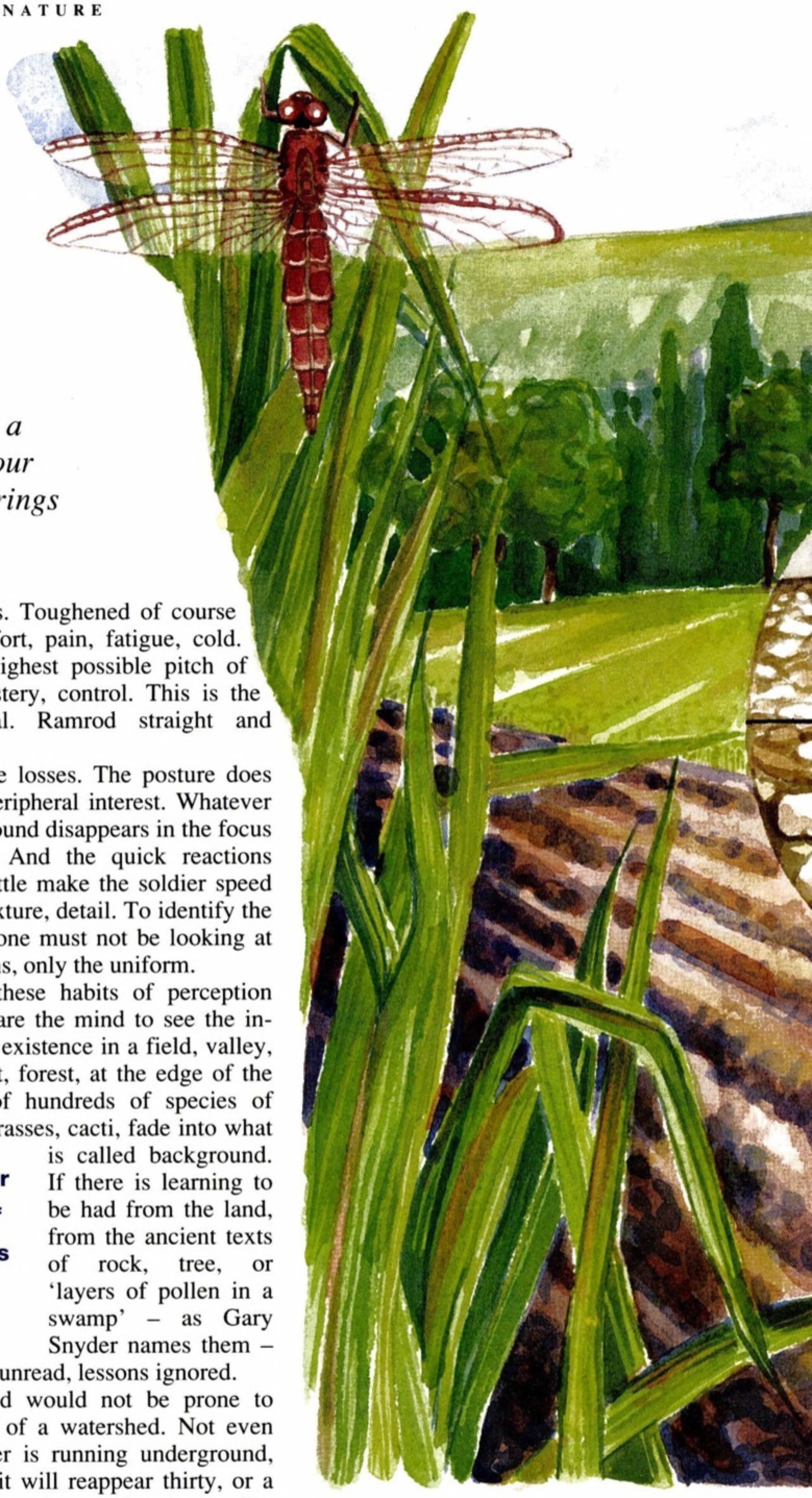
The reasons for this delay and silence are manifold. First, there is the official secrecy that surrounds the arms trade and the difficulty in getting hold of official documentation. Second, the reluctance of the mainstream press to put adequate resources into challenging the powerful interests of the arms companies and their beneficiaries. And finally, the lack of interest shown by politicians on both the Right and the Left.

The result is this: weapons of mass destruction are sold to tyrannical regimes and the activities of banks and governments are only revealed when the main protagonists have long departed. The public, meanwhile, has the wool pulled over its eyes. ■

David Hellier is now a freelance journalist. He has recently worked as a consultant on a new film on the defence industry by John Pilger and David Munro.

Inheritance of absence

*What do you see if you look at the world through a gunsight? Not a lot. And what if you approach your emotional life in the same way? **Susan Griffin** brings to the surface some deep connections.*



There are stretches of land scattered throughout the United States that have become so desolate they are the stuff of legends. Chain-link fences and signs warning trespassers away set them apart from the rest of the countryside – deserts in California, Nevada and New Mexico; pastures, fields, forested land along creek beds or rivers in Tennessee, South Carolina, and Washington State.

It is as if these patches of earth have been erased from existence, or at least existence as it is configured in the public mind of the last half-century of this nation. These are the dumping grounds for the United States military, places where the unintended excrescences of wars real and imagined have been hidden, shed, stored.

There are shell casings, live bullets, unexploded mines and grenades, countless chemicals and radioactive waste. Toxic substances bubble to the surface destroying vegetation, turning it brown or fluorescent. Underneath subterranean waters are fouled and carry their poisons unobserved past the gates and sentries into the surrounding countryside, towns, cities.

Initiated early in life, the soldier has already learned to think of what he calls nature not only as background but also as other, and even enemy, or prey.

The effects where they have been observed are devastating. Cancers, childhood leukemias, whole communities uprooted, farms abandoned, unworkable. Armies are supposed to defend the people against early, untimely death from unseen enemies. And over centuries the most sophisticated equipment has been devised for this task. Heat-sensitive photographs taken from satellites, every kind of radar, computerized projections made from the slightest evidence. How is it then that these visible marks on the land, and the countless less visible traces of danger, escaped notice?

I am thinking of the military body. The body of a good soldier. Trained to respond quickly to danger. And yet at the same time educated away from fear and other more subtle responses. Toughened of course against discomfort, pain, fatigue, cold. Tuned to the highest possible pitch of aggression, mastery, control. This is the masculine ideal. Ramrod straight and orderly.

But there are losses. The posture does not allow for peripheral interest. Whatever is in the background disappears in the focus of a gunsight. And the quick reactions necessary in battle make the soldier speed past so much texture, detail. To identify the enemy in time one must not be looking at minute variations, only the uniform.

Of course, these habits of perception would not prepare the mind to see the intricate levels of existence in a field, valley, stretch of desert, forest, at the edge of the stream. Each of hundreds of species of birds, insects, grasses, cacti, fade into what is called background. If there is learning to be had from the land, from the ancient texts of rock, tree, or 'layers of pollen in a swamp' – as Gary Snyder names them – these are books unread, lessons ignored.

So this mind would not be prone to detect the path of a watershed. Not even know that water is running underground, much less that it will reappear thirty, or a hundred, or even several hundred miles later, and enter the life cycles of plants, the mouths of animals, or other people.

And as for the death of an owl, a coyote, a species of small insect that might be a harbinger of danger, how can one expect the soldier to observe these with grief? Everything in his training tells him it is his life or the life of the enemy. The other. Everywhere he looks he must make this distinction. One or the other.

And since birth he has been taught another attitude. An approach going back centuries to at least the Roman Empire where whole forests were destroyed to build the ships and palaces of expansion. Perhaps armies are the most intense evocation of this state of mind. Initiated early in life, the soldier has already learned to think of what he calls nature not only as background but also as other, and even enemy, or prey.

He has been raised with the belief that other life forms are without spirit or souls. The life or death then of a small ecosystem, a pond, a hundred square miles of hot sand, red rock, inhabited by lizards, snakes, mice, has no cosmic significance and means nothing to him.

Or so he believes.

And if the meaning of these deaths are somewhere in him, he has learned to bury this in an unconscious region. Unclaimed

MIRIAM McCURDY

as the lands set off by sign and fence.

I am remembering G. He was the lover of a friend in our last year of High School. Just returned from Korea, he still wore a khaki uniform. Our circle was a group of rebels and no-one could quite understand our friend's attraction to him. Nor his to her. He gave the appearance of a leathery skin, thick neck, imperviousness to any delicacy. Talked to us for hours about the Japanese women he had had as lovers. How attentive they had been to his needs. How obedient they were to his demands. They would cook elaborate meals for him, give him massages, walk on his back, and make love to him exotically, passionately, all with no demands of their own, no complaints. None of these women had names or histories he could tell us. They fell into the background as part of a general category: Japanese women.

But at the same time he was obsessed and in love with Japan. And we all liked this in him. He took us all to Japanese restaurants. Introduced us to new ways of eating fish, a different beer; showed us poetry, water colors. Nothing in California pleased him as much as this more delicately sensual world. Because of the quality of intense presence he had whenever he spoke of Japan, one was drawn to him in these moments.

It is certainly possible to be someplace, any place and not be present in this way. By the time I was born, my mother's father had become a kind of emptiness in himself. Most of the time he seemed scarcely present, adding little to family conversations. He had a sweet side though, through which he seemed to come alive solely for me. At these times he would tell me about his childhood or watch the Westerns with me and joke and laugh.

The unclaimed regions of a man, which military training walls off more effectively. To reveal hesitation, sensitivity, fear – above all fear – occasions ridicule. He is likened to a woman. Or a faggot. There is a subtle heritage that connects the military repression of homosexuality with negligent pollution. The inheritance of absence.

So much of modern warfare is not present to itself, takes place in the mind as if nowhere. Almost hypothetically.

So much of modern warfare is not present to itself, takes place in the mind as if nowhere. Almost hypothetically. On a computer screen in an airplane miles above the target. Or in a room with computerized controls set to launch rockets. But this only mirrors a much older divide by which the soldier walls himself off from his own compassion, remorse, terror.

And if there is evidence? Trace deposits, toxins, as yet unkindled fire of all that has been avoided. It is best to ignore it, he reasons with himself.

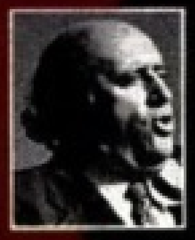
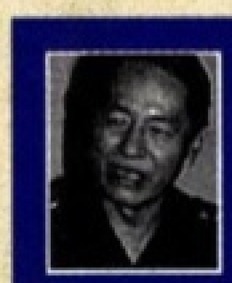
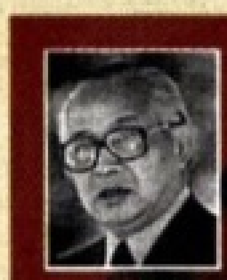
But the logic is circular. Ignoring place, earth, his own knowledge, the fear in his body, the delicacy of his own perceptions. He is oddly dislocated. He is like a computer screen floating in air. Where is the ground of his being? What is his purpose? Only a marching band with a strong martial rhythm and the sound of his feet indistinguishable from the lockstep of a battalion which follows the clipped, familiar shouts of a commander, can give him back some sense of direction.

And if the parade is marching off to war, some war which he can hardly understand, which means nothing to him, he already has a sense of loss. And grief and rage because of it which will now be useful while he fights over possession of some small stretch of land, two or three acres, over which the victor will one day draw a boundary. ■

North American essayist, poet and playwright **Susan Griffin** is author of more than 20 books including *Pornography and Silence* and *Woman and Nature*. Her latest book, *A Chorus of Stones*, focuses on the private life of war. It is published by The Women's Press, London 1994; Doubleday, New York 1992; and Allen & Unwin, St Leonards, NSW 1994

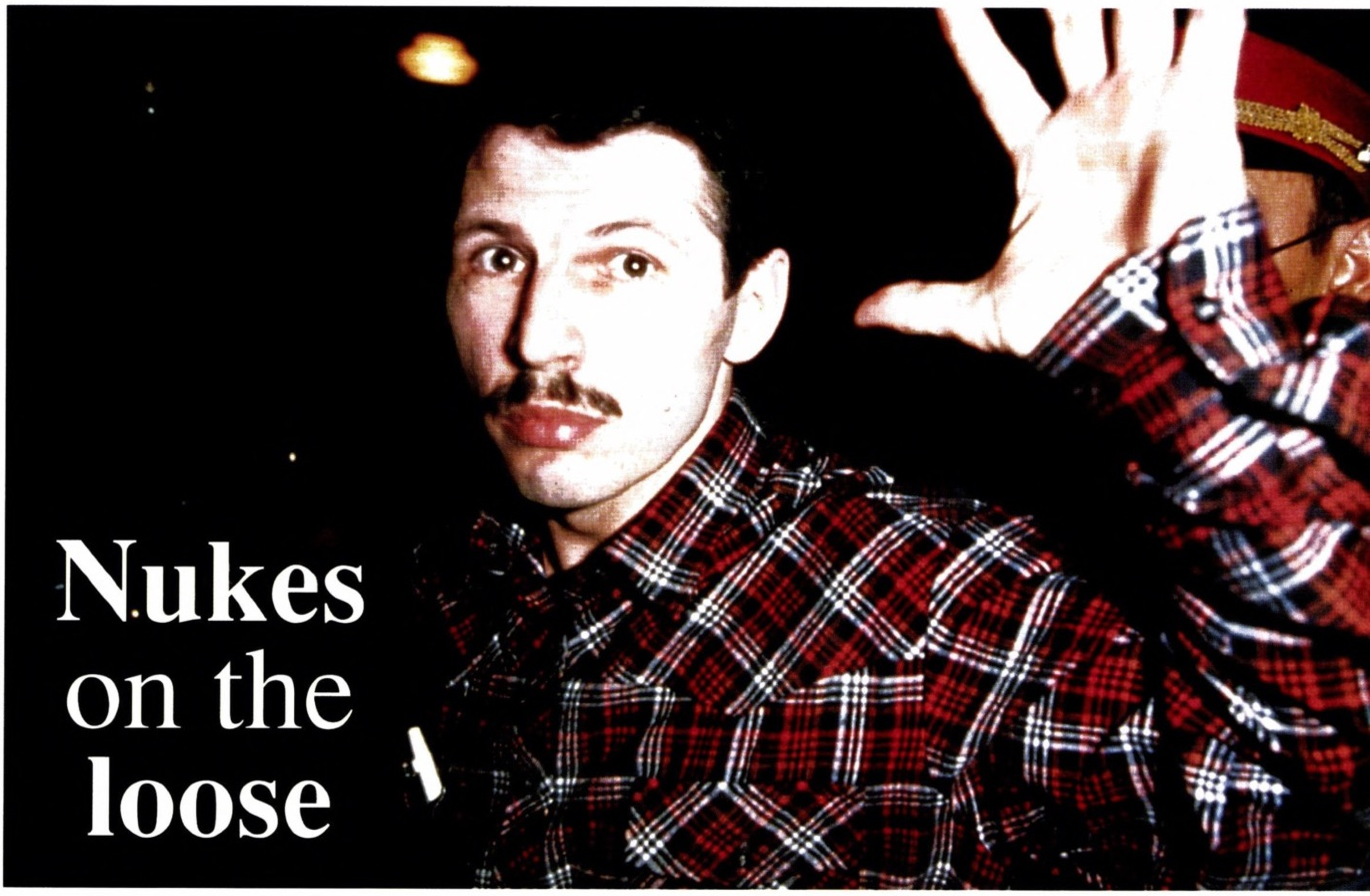
TYRANTS FOR CLIENTS

Tyrants make the best clients for arms-selling countries.

	PROFILE	HUMAN RIGHTS	ARMS	SOUNDBITE
SAUDI ARABIA	An absolute monarchy with no legislature or political parties. King Fahd rules in accordance with the laws of Islam with advice from the Council of Ministers. Saudi Arabia is a leading oil producer which allied with the West during the 1991 Gulf War.	Moves in 1993 by leading figures to secure changes in the judicial system and labour laws and to introduce an electoral system led to imprisonment and exile. Judicial amputation and public execution are regularly used as punishment for criminal offences. Religious intolerance is rife – scores of Christians and Shi'a Muslims have been detained without trial, flogged and tortured. Some have been executed. The rights of women are very restricted.	A major buyer. Main suppliers 1988-93 were: UK $3,116 million, US $2,783 million, France $1,572 million and China $858 million. The UK-Saudi Al Yamamah II arms export deal, estimated to be worth over $7,500 million, is the biggest ever. Transactions began in 1993 and payment is to be in oil.	*'It is true that by our standards [Saudi Arabia] is not a democracy ... but there are courts there which are fair. Their record on human rights is not one of the ones to be ashamed of in the world.'* Jonathan Aitken, UK Minister of State for Defence Procurement, BBC TV Question Time, 22 May 1993.
TURKEY	 Turkey has the second-largest armed forces in NATO after the US. It aspires to membership of the European Union but is involved in a long-running dispute with Greece over Cyprus and is at war with its own Kurdish population. After Israel and Egypt, Turkey is the third-largest recipient of US military aid. The current president is Suleyman Demirel.	Although nominally a democracy, Turkey holds thousands of political prisoners. Hundreds are sentenced to death. The use of torture is widespread and systematic. Press censorship is violently applied. The Government is currently waging a genocidal war against the nine-million-strong Kurdish population.	Main suppliers 1987-91 were: US $3,953 million, Germany $1,549 million, The Netherlands $237 million, Italy $125 million, France $22 million and UK $10 million. Turkey itself is entering the arms-export business, re-exporting second-hand weaponry and planning co-operation on new weapons with the US and Egypt.	*'There is a presumption that Turkey has or will use funds under this provision in violation of human rights... To me that is a gratuitous insult to Turkey.'* Senator Cochran's response to a proposed amendment that US military funds to Turkey must not be used for internal security purposes, US Senate 29 June 1994.
BURMA	 The ruling SLORC military junta, headed by General Saw Maung, has been waging war against ethnic rebel groups and student dissidents. 'In our military science there is no such thing as dialogue,' says General Saw Maung. Democratically-elected leader Aung San Suu Kyi has been under house arrest since 1989. Burma is rich in natural resources, including oil and timber.	One of the worst human-rights records in the world. Abuses are widespread – especially against minority groups. Torture, execution and the burning of villages are common. Villagers are herded into concentration camps and subjected to backbreaking forced labour. Women are forced to work as porters for the military. Rape of girls and women is systematically used as a weapon of oppression. HIV-positive women are injected with lethal doses of cyanide.	China and Singapore are the main suppliers. The total value of weapons from China since 1990 is US$1.2 billion. Sweden's Nobel Industry and Singapore's Shengi Holding are reported to be supplying ammunition. Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands and Poland are reported to be by-passing the UN embargo by directing arms through Singapore. Arms imports – financed by drug trafficking – have helped SLORC stay in power.	*'The US market will not remain open to Burma as long as it remains a hell for human rights.'* Senator DP Moynihan on the US Senate decision to expand sanctions against the Burmese regime, August 1991. *'They [the Burmese military leadership] have been here for medical check-ups, for dental treatment ... or a round of golf or whatever.'* Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, describing his country's trade with Burma as 'constructive engagement'.
INDONESIA	 General (now President) Suharto seized power in 1965, killed one million people while annihilating the mass-based left movement, and has held power ever since. The authoritarian military regime still has a policy of annexing independent states in the region.	At least 200,000 of the people of East Timor – a third of the population – have died as a result of Indonesia's continued occupation of the island it invaded in 1975. Peaceful protest against Government injustice all over Indonesia is met with gunfire, arrests, maltreatment and subversion trials.	Main suppliers 1988-92 were: US $4,390 million, The Netherlands $341 million, UK $201 million and Germany $156 million. In 1993 British Aerospace sealed a $750 million deal to supply 24 Hawk trainer/fighter planes.	*'I am proud to be one of you.'* Margaret Thatcher at the State Palace in Jakarta in 1992 . *'Australian Defence Minister Robert Ray after a five-day visit to Indonesia said Australia might sell arms to Indonesia,'* Quoted by Antara, Indonesia's official news agency, 6 August 1994. Australia has just heavily invested in small-arms manufacture under licence from the Austrian company Steyr.

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

Write to your MP or senator demanding that your government stops selling arms to repressive regimes – whether directly or indirectly – NOW.



Nukes on the loose

HANS JURGEN BURKARD / NETWORK

The hand of the Mafia: Russian weapons-grade plutonium 239 is reaching the open market.

Russian plutonium smuggled out in suitcases. North Korea reputedly making its own nukes. Fears of a lethal free-for-all have replaced those of the Cold War superpowers delivering us all to Armageddon. What can be done? ***Darius Bazargan*** *reports.*

'THE new nuclear danger we face is perhaps a handful of nuclear devices in the hands of rogue states or even terrorist groups,' said Les Aspin last year, while he was still US Defense Secretary. His concern – and its possibly racist undertones – is often echoed in the West these days.

The Cold War may be over and some of its nuclear arsenals are being dismantled, but for smaller countries nuclear weapons are seen as a fast-track to great power status: 'There is still the sense of nuclear technology as the wonder-weapon that will carry all before it, that can be waved around as a big stick to get people to bow to your will,' said one defense analyst.

After the 1991 Gulf War it emerged that Saddam Hussein had read the works of a certain General André Gallois, the theoretician behind France's independent nuclear Force de Frappe. His idea was that even a small nuclear capability transforms a country's territory into a sort of invulnerable 'sanctuary' which no-one would dare to attack, making conventional war a less risky proposition.

Predictably, most of the governments actively trying to acquire these weapons are oppressive, ruled by a military élite prepared to beggar their countries in order to develop this 'nuclear talisman'.

Cut price plutonium

Les Aspin was not very hopeful about controlling the flow of nuclear weapons either: 'Loose nukes will reach the international market... the policy of prevention through denial won't be enough to cope with the potential of tomorrow's proliferators.'

The main cause for concern is the break-up of the old Soviet Union. To date most reports of nuclear materials being smuggled out have been about amateurish efforts. There are horror stories of workers at nuclear plants stealing non-weapons-grade radioactive materials and hiding them in their cars, clothes or in one case the family freezer, in the hope of selling them on to the Russian Mafia, who would smuggle them abroad.

The Russian Government had previously denied that any weapons-grade nuclear material had reached the open market. But in July this year, German police found a six-gramme sample of Russian-made weapons-grade plutonium 239 at the house of a Stuttgart entrepreneur with extensive Russian contacts. Several more seizures followed. A terrorist with the Bomb in his briefcase is not a new idea, but it may be more likely now than ever before.

Russian nuclear experts may also be tempted to take their know-how overseas. Formerly a privileged élite, these scientists have seen both their status and their living standards tumble. An average nuclear specialist can now hope to earn half as much as a bus driver, making massive salaries from foreign governments more than attractive.

Trick or Treaty

So what is to be done? The 25-year-old nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty comes up for renewal in April next year, and the question on many lips is: can the Treaty cope with the new realities? Should it be renewed?

As it stands, the Treaty has many flaws. Its main failing is hypocrisy. Of its 160 signatories, five were nuclear powers – US, USSR, UK, France, and China. These agreed to reduce their nuclear arms but instead they have actually increased. their capability. These nuclear countries are also the only ones with permanent seats on the powerful UN Security Council.

It's no surprise then that new nuclear states such as Israel, India and Pakistan have chosen not to sign the Treaty. Even some of the countries that have done so – Iraq and North Korea, for example – have then disregarded it and worked on developing nuclear weapons all the same. Then there is another, more technical, flaw to the Treaty. It was conceived as a regime which would simultaneously promote the international use of civilian nuclear technology whilst preventing the spread of nuclear weapons. This has not worked for many reasons, one of the main ones being that the distinction is often unclear and much of the technology has dual use. Iraq and others have shown that being denied access to the military technology has not stood in the way of making nuclear weapons.

In view of the failure of certain aspects of the Treaty some nations have tried other arrangements such as the Missile Technology Control Regime and the Nuclear Suppliers Group. But these have been criticized as élitist clubs composed of the industrialized nations. Officials involved in these organizations concede there is little that they can do to stop a determined, wealthy and patient government from eventually acquiring nuclear weapons. But they argue that they can make that process more difficult and more expensive – the latter obviously being in their interests.

Clinging to clout

So where does all of this leave the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and is it worth extending? Probably, but not indefinitely and not under its current terms.

The big question is whether the five nuclear states on the UN Security Council – US, Russia, UK, France and China – will be able to dispel the suspicion that they want to extend the Treaty simply to maintain their own monopoly on nuclear weapons and the international clout this gives them.

In a sane world governments would accept that nuclear weapons have no political or military value and would adopt a policy of total disarmament. Ironically, the only state ever to unilaterally disarm was South Africa in 1990. The five nuclear states may work towards limited disarmament but they are unlikely to 'ban the Bomb'. The trouble is that they still believe nuclear weapons have a considerable political, if not military, use.

Countdown to disarmament: missiles being destroyed

BLANCHE / GAMMA

US officials have talked about a minimum stabilization level of around 3,500 warheads – way above the arsenals of Britain, China and France. These three might be tempted to maintain their nuclear forces arguing that they are not of comparable size to that of the US. Countries like Britain are thus spending billions on updating anachronistic weapons systems in the hope of defending their permanent place on the UN Security Council.

Meanwhile the US is pursuing its own particular agenda when it complains about 'rogue' states getting the Bomb. The label 'rogue' is attached only to those states seen to be opposed to US global interests: both South Africa and Israel have had relatively easy rides when they became nuclear powers.

US freedom to project force internationally is likely to be curtailed if a potential adversary has nuclear weapons. It is hard to imagine that Operation Desert Storm would have been mounted in the way it was if a nuclear-armed Iraq had invaded Kuwait.

It is now time for the non-nuclear states to call the shots if the Non-Proliferation Treaty is to be extended. According to Frank Barnaby from the Oxford Research Group the non-nuclear states should insist on a commitment from the nuclear states to progressively phase out their arsenals. They should also sign a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Other measures could include a ban on the production of weapons-grade fissile materials, strengthening the powers of the nuclear 'watchdog' International Atomic Energy Agency, and a 'no-first-use' treaty.

As for the question of nuclear material getting into the hands of terrorist groups, there is little the Non-Proliferation Treaty itself can do as such groups will obviously not be present at the conference.

The spread of nuclear weapons must be stopped, but the Non-Proliferation Treaty should certainly not be renewed to maintain the status quo. It should be remembered that this Treaty was conceived as a means to an end and not an end in itself. Unless the five Security Council states lead by example and take real steps to eliminate their own stocks of these nightmarish weapons, the Treaty will not be worth the paper it is written on.

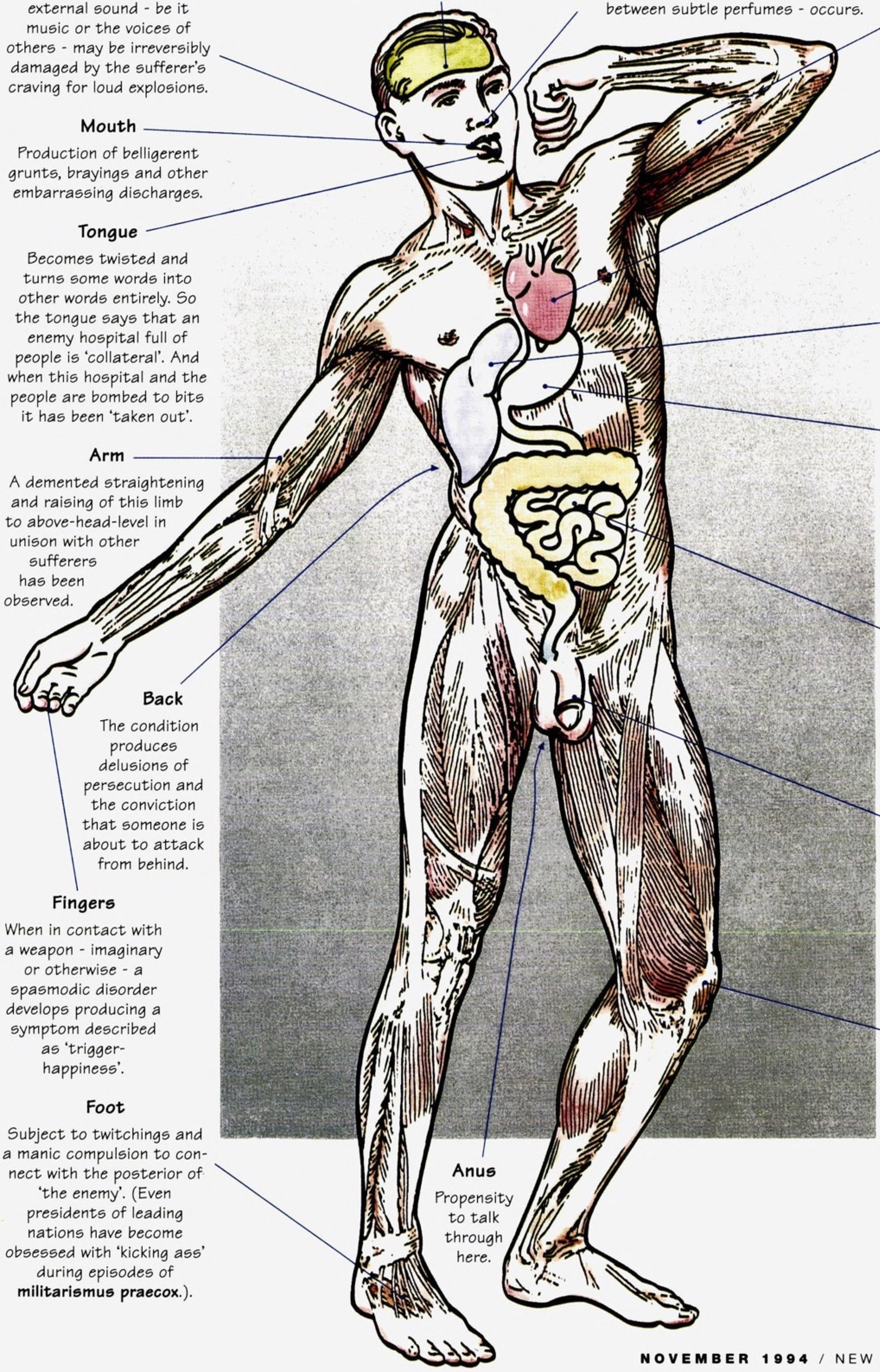
When it comes to nuclear weapons, everybody's hands are the wrong hands. ■

Darius Bazargan is a freelance writer on international affairs.

A Pathology of Militarism

A report from Dr RS Bloom MD, MRCP.

The condition of *militarismus praecox* is endemic and highly contagious. It appears in various forms and produces violent mutations and behavioural disorders. In severe cases treatment is long and painstaking. It may involve dissection of a diseased knot of distorted reflexes. The therapeutic aim is to redirect the flow of energy away from an unhealthy craving for death and destruction and towards life and creativity. If untreated the disease may rage out of control and spread rapidly through society.



Ears

These delicate organs of balance and receptivity to external sound - be it music or the voices of others - may be irreversibly damaged by the sufferer's craving for loud explosions.

Mouth

Production of belligerent grunts, brayings and other embarrassing discharges.

Tongue

Becomes twisted and turns some words into other words entirely. So the tongue says that an enemy hospital full of people is 'collateral'. And when this hospital and the people are bombed to bits it has been 'taken out'.

Arm

A demented straightening and raising of this limb to above-head-level in unison with other sufferers has been observed.

Back

The condition produces delusions of persecution and the conviction that someone is about to attack from behind.

Fingers

When in contact with a weapon - imaginary or otherwise - a spasmodic disorder develops producing a symptom described as 'trigger-happiness'.

Foot

Subject to twitchings and a manic compulsion to connect with the posterior of 'the enemy'. (Even presidents of leading nations have become obsessed with 'kicking ass' during episodes of **militarismus praecox**.).

Brain

Capacity is severely diminished. Truncated attention span.

Nose

A hardening of this organ - normally sensitive enough to detect the difference between subtle perfumes - occurs.

Anus

Propensity to talk through here.

Biceps

Delusion that over-development of these muscles is synonymous with decisiveness.

Heart

Severely atrophied. May harden into a tight, hard, cold little knot, incapable of responding appropriately to external stimuli.

Liver

Ravaged. Bearing the damage of double-scotches with heads of state and defence ministers of arms-buying countries.

Stomach

In businesspeople, politicians and civil servants the condition creates an insatiable appetite for rich foods and an expensive lifestyle that striking 'deals' to sell weapons can bring.

Guts

Possession of these organs - vital to nourishing the body - becomes synonymous with a mindless readiness to engage in acts of violence.

Penis

Confusion with gun; the former may be used more as an instrument of war than pleasure. The latter may be fondled as though it were the former.

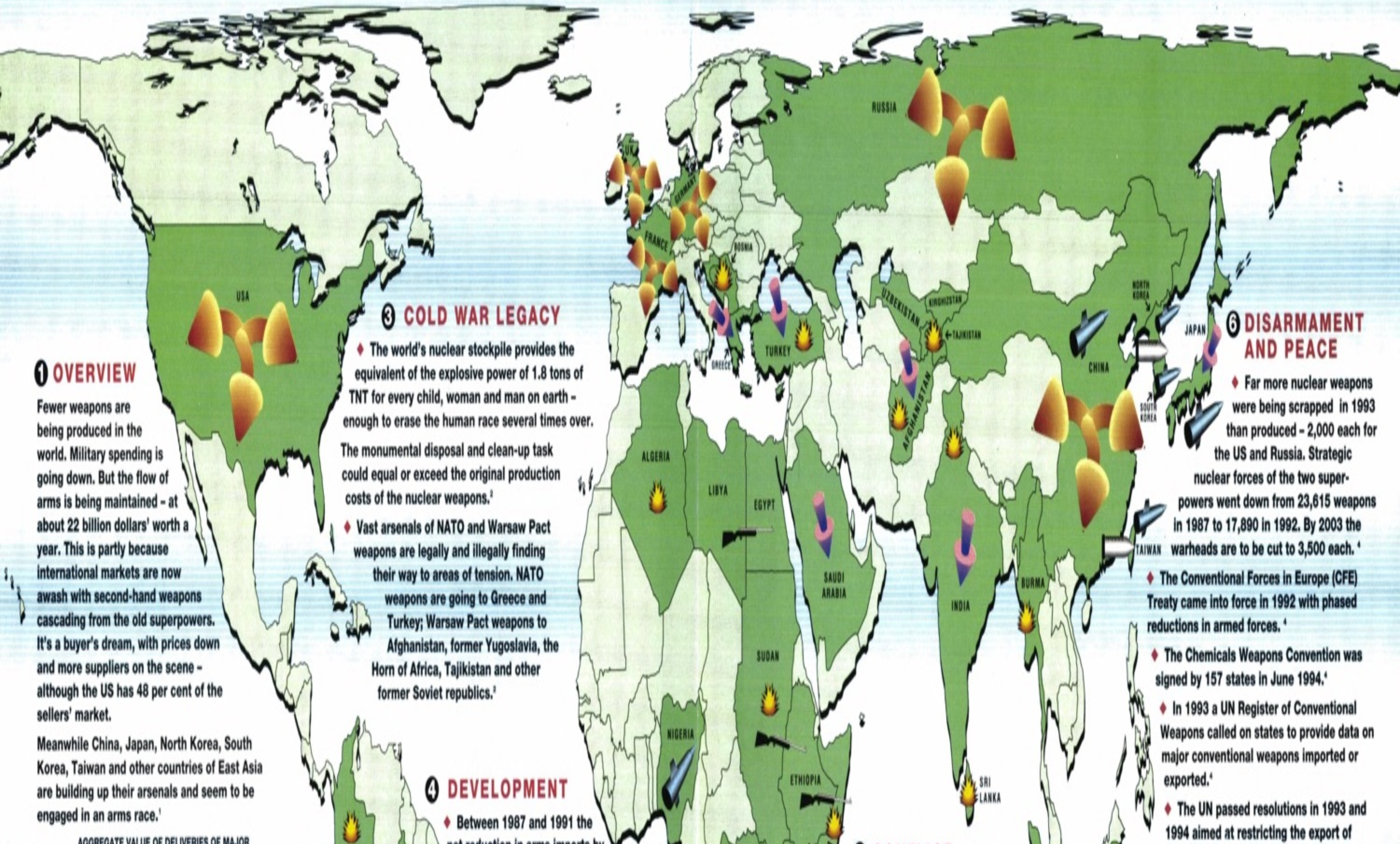
Knee

The jerk response dominates and overrides all other possible interventions - especially those from the brain. The outcome is usually bloody.

ILLUSTRATION BY MIKKI RAIN

ARMS AND CONFLICT – THE FACTS

NI charts the way the guns are going in a post-Cold War world of dramatic changes.

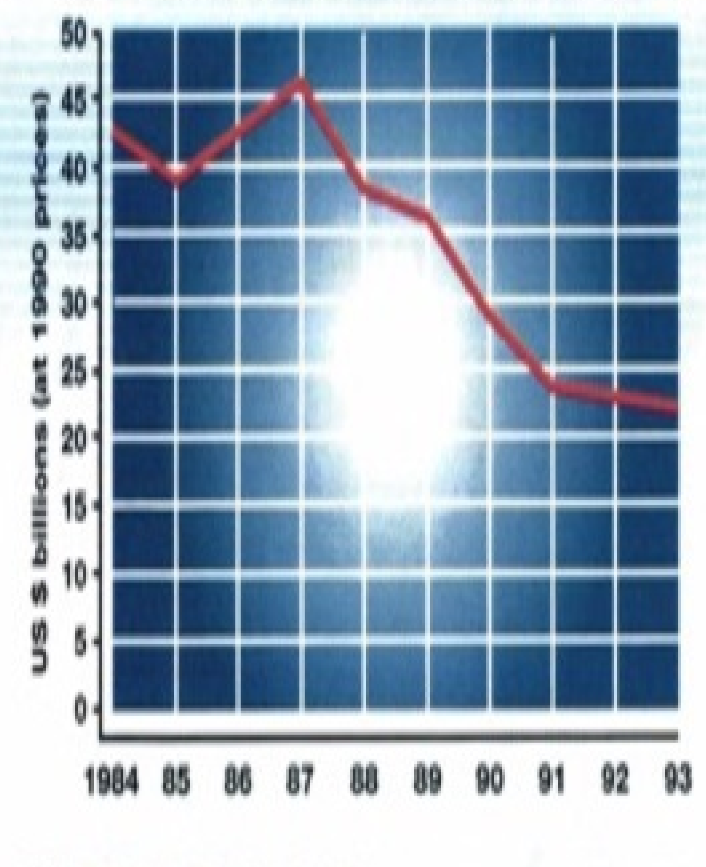


❶ OVERVIEW

Fewer weapons are being produced in the world. Military spending is going down. But the flow of arms is being maintained – at about 22 billion dollars' worth a year. This is partly because international markets are now awash with second-hand weapons cascading from the old superpowers. It's a buyer's dream, with prices down and more suppliers on the scene – although the US has 48 per cent of the sellers' market.

Meanwhile China, Japan, North Korea, South Korea, Taiwan and other countries of East Asia are building up their arsenals and seem to be engaged in an arms race.[1]

AGGREGATE VALUE OF DELIVERIES OF MAJOR CONVENTIONAL WEAPON SYSTEMS, 1984-93



❷ THE BIG SIX

THE ARMS TRADE 1989-93[1]

The biggest suppliers (in million US$)

US	56,624
USSR/Russia	35,422
Germany	8,692
France	7,692
UK	6,556
China	5,742

The biggest buyers (in million US$)

India	10,478
Japan	8,256
Saudi Arabia	8,039
Turkey	7,729
Greece	6,257
Afghanistan	6,251

❸ COLD WAR LEGACY

◆ The world's nuclear stockpile provides the equivalent of the explosive power of 1.8 tons of TNT for every child, woman and man on earth – enough to erase the human race several times over.

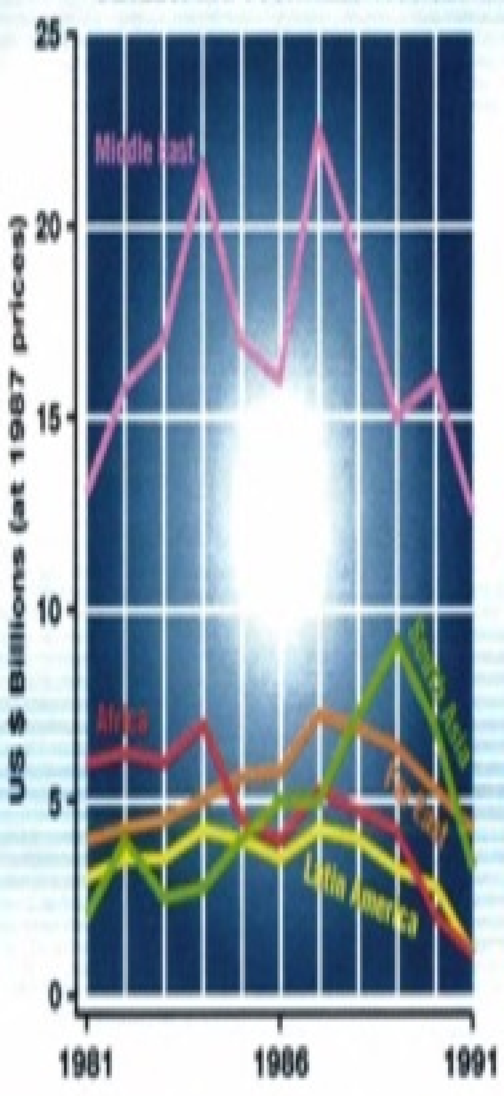
The monumental disposal and clean-up task could equal or exceed the original production costs of the nuclear weapons.[2]

◆ Vast arsenals of NATO and Warsaw Pact weapons are legally and illegally finding their way to areas of tension. NATO weapons are going to Greece and Turkey; Warsaw Pact weapons to Afghanistan, former Yugoslavia, the Horn of Africa, Tajikistan and other former Soviet republics.[2]

❹ DEVELOPMENT

◆ Between 1987 and 1991 the net reduction in arms imports by developing countries amounted to $35 billion – one of the largest cutbacks in the arms trade in the world.[2]

ARMS IMPORTS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES 1981-91



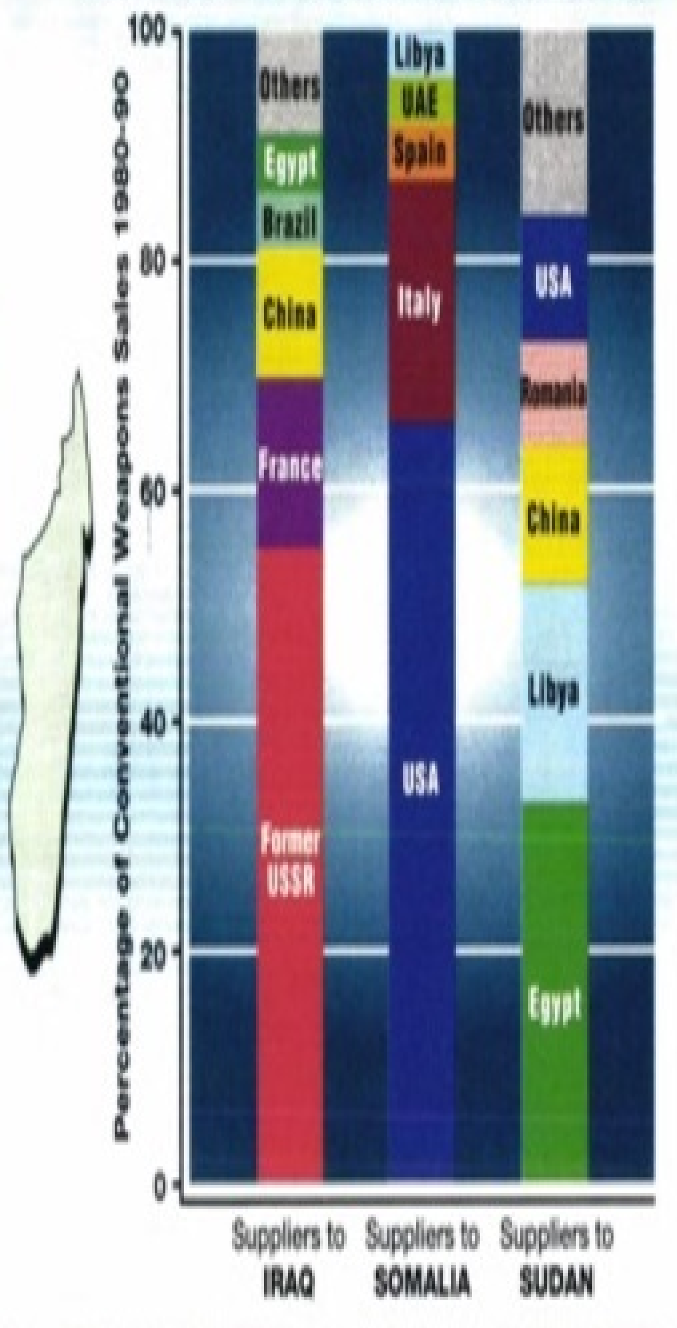
The permanent members of the UN Security Council supply most weapons to developing countries.[3]

◆ Annual military spending in developing countries is $125 billion. Just 4% of this could achieve universal primary education, halve adult illiteracy and educate women to the level of men. Just 12% could provide health care and safe drinking water for all.[3]

❺ CONFLICT

During 1993, 34 major armed conflicts were waged in 28 locations around the world.[1]

SUPPLIERS OF WEAPONS TO THREE TROUBLE SPOTS



◆ Since 1990 the UN has imposed mandatory arms embargoes on Iraq, former Yugoslavia, Somalia, Libya, Liberia, Haiti and UNITA in Angola. These are all routinely circumvented.[1]

❻ DISARMAMENT AND PEACE

◆ Far more nuclear weapons were being scrapped in 1993 than produced – 2,000 each for the US and Russia. Strategic nuclear forces of the two superpowers went down from 23,615 weapons in 1987 to 17,890 in 1992. By 2003 the warheads are to be cut to 3,500 each.[4]

◆ The Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty came into force in 1992 with phased reductions in armed forces.[4]

◆ The Chemicals Weapons Convention was signed by 157 states in June 1994.[4]

◆ In 1993 a UN Register of Conventional Weapons called on states to provide data on major conventional weapons imported or exported.[4]

◆ The UN passed resolutions in 1993 and 1994 aimed at restricting the export of landmines.[4]

◆ Peace is in the offing in South Africa with the transition to majority rule: in the Middle East with the Israeli-PLO peace accord; in Northern Ireland with the IRA renunciation of violence.[4]

◆ Future cuts in military spending during 1995-2000 at the rate of 3% a year should produce a global peace dividend of $460 billion.[4]

Conflicts : involving the death of 1,000 or more people in one year

Industrializing countries investing in defence manufacture and co-production

Embargoes being circumvented

Countries building up arsenals

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1 **Stockholm International Peace Research Institute,** *SIPRI Yearbook 1994,* Oxford University Press 1994.

2 **Ruth Leger Sivard,** *World Military and Social Expenditures 1993,* World Priorities 1993.

3 **United Nations Development Programme,** *Human Development Report 1994,* Oxford University Press 1994.

4 **World Development Movement.**

Hands of lead, feet of clay

He is 12 years old. His country is at war. Civil society has broken down. The gun rules. And so does the boy. A haunting tale by award-winning novelist ***Jamal Mahjoub****.*

His hands are made of lead, his feet of clay. Tiny animals live in the hardened ridges on the backs of his heels. Long sinewy loops of rope for arms, the kind you might use to string a bed with. The night is cold and hard as the strip of cardboard upon which his bones lie.

The voices are distant whispers. When he closes his eyes he hears the words of his father, telling him the same stories over and over. He has not seen his father since they came for him five years ago; crying and screaming, falling to the ground like a rag. All his learning fell from him like leaves shaken from a tree.

Now he was out in the great wide sea of nothingness, the stone-shod desert which he had watched from the open windows of the school, year in and year out until if a single stone had been moved he could have sworn he would have noticed. His father taught them. The sun, he said, does not pass over the earth from east to west, it is the earth which passes around the sun.

He dreamed of the city. Just before he fell asleep, curled like a coil in the sand he stared at the stars which seemed so close. He saw coloured lights flashing through the heavens, streaks of light so vivid that if he could just lift his arms he might be able to reach out and grasp them. The city was light, the rest of the world was darkness.

He was drawn back to the school by the radio which sang every night when the streets were deserted and his mother and sisters sat hanging their heads weeping over what was to become of them. The boys who lived in the school were the same boys who had sat beside him, or the ones from the next class, or the ones he had watched playing football as they still did in the long afternoons, running barefoot and dusty to kick a ball that was more holes than leather. The school was theirs now for all others had abandoned it to them. The teachers had packed their bags and gone, those that is who were not dismissed or arrested. The old watchman still slept against the crumbling wall, but no-one paid him anything any more, neither money nor attention.

They all knew him. They knew him by his hands of lead and his feet of clay which moulded themselves to whatever ground he walked upon. They knew him by the cartridge case that he had punched a hole through with an old nail and a stone to string around his neck and they knew him also as the son of a man who used to teach in this school in the days when it still was a school.

He was drawn in by the radio with its jittery litany of love and gibberish. When the speeches came on they switched it off to preserve the batteries, for such talk made you no wiser. They prized batteries above all else and in conducting house searches or stopping the odd lorry that rumbled lopsidedly by, the only thing they really hoped to find was batteries. He was drawn there and he stayed, hooked to that transistor like the strand of wire that was twisted around the top as an antenna.

He was drawn in by the radio with its jittery litany of love and gibberish.

He clung to the crippled walls where the flags fluttered, coloured rags in the soft evening breeze and he listened, for when they sat and talked the children grew wise and their eyes began to glow the way charcoal does when fanned. They were like a family, and like any family there were fights from time to time, but they never lasted long.

Once in a while a man came to see them. He was short and stubby and his eyes drooped at the sides as though he were weary of himself. He had a wristwatch that gleamed dully and skin the colour of those ochre rocks that inhabit the plains. They said he was the Government's man, that in the army he used to jump from aeroplanes, though it was hard to imagine

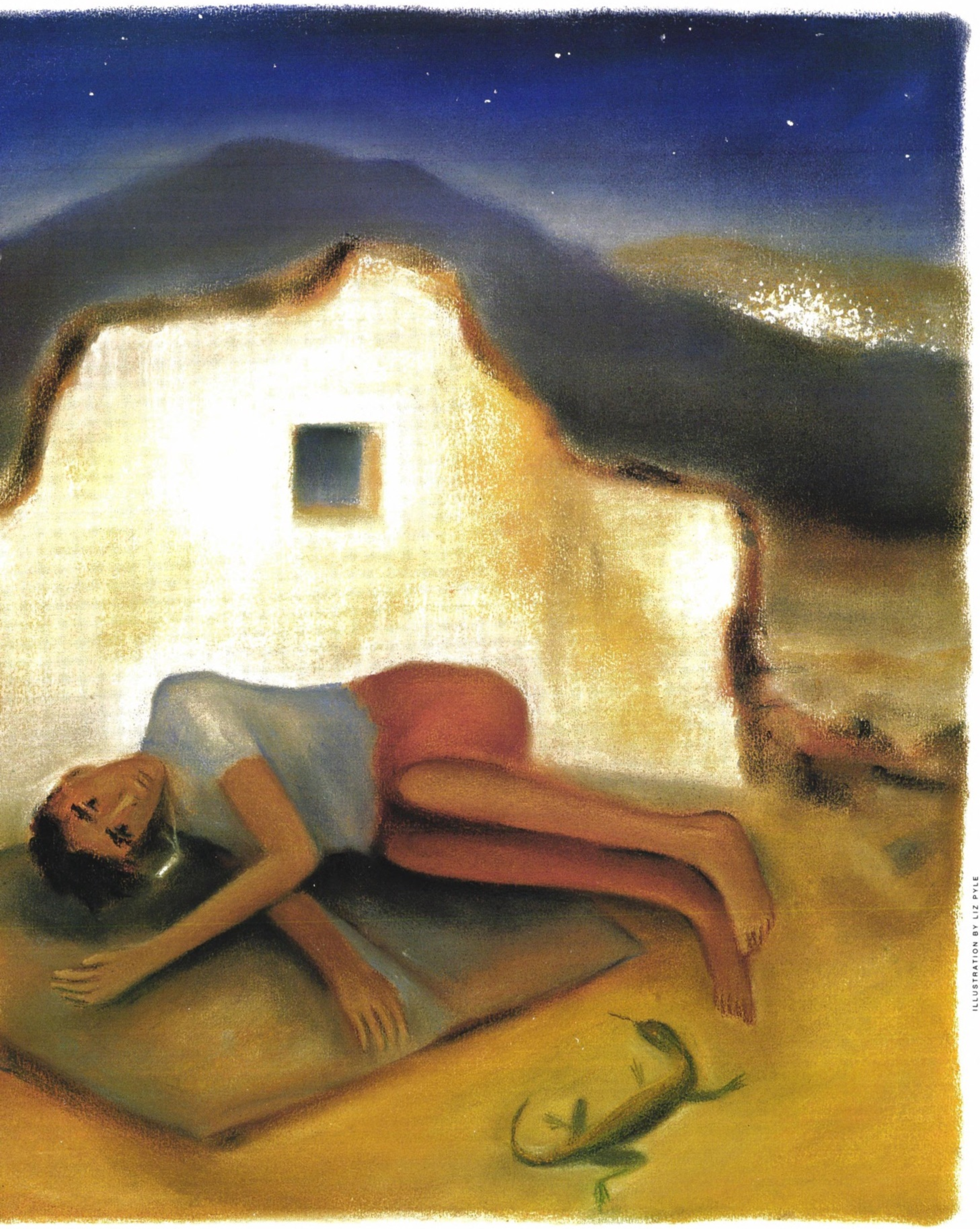


ILLUSTRATION BY LIZ PYLE

those sorry-looking eyes ever contemplating such a daring act.

He told them that they were the future, that the ways of the past were wrong, that there was a war, a war between ignorance and knowledge, against evil and the ruin of man, against those who sought to lead them from the true path, the straight path.

With his feet of clay, his spine was like the twisted stem of a tree from which thorns burst into the glassy shimmering air. Hatred belonged to the past, his father said, there was only one God and He belonged to all men. A fool claims to know everything, it takes a wise man to admit his ignorance. But all these clever words never helped him when they came for him, all his books and papers never saved him then.

The air was different and the sky was deeper, more blue. It felt like a drum skin against which he rested his head.

He no longer went home any more. There was really no point. He had no wish to sit there night after night in that awful air of mourning which covered his mother and sisters like ashes. They scolded him and asked him where he had been and cursed and cried and begged him to stay at home; then they slumped on the edge of the bed side by side like three ragged crows.

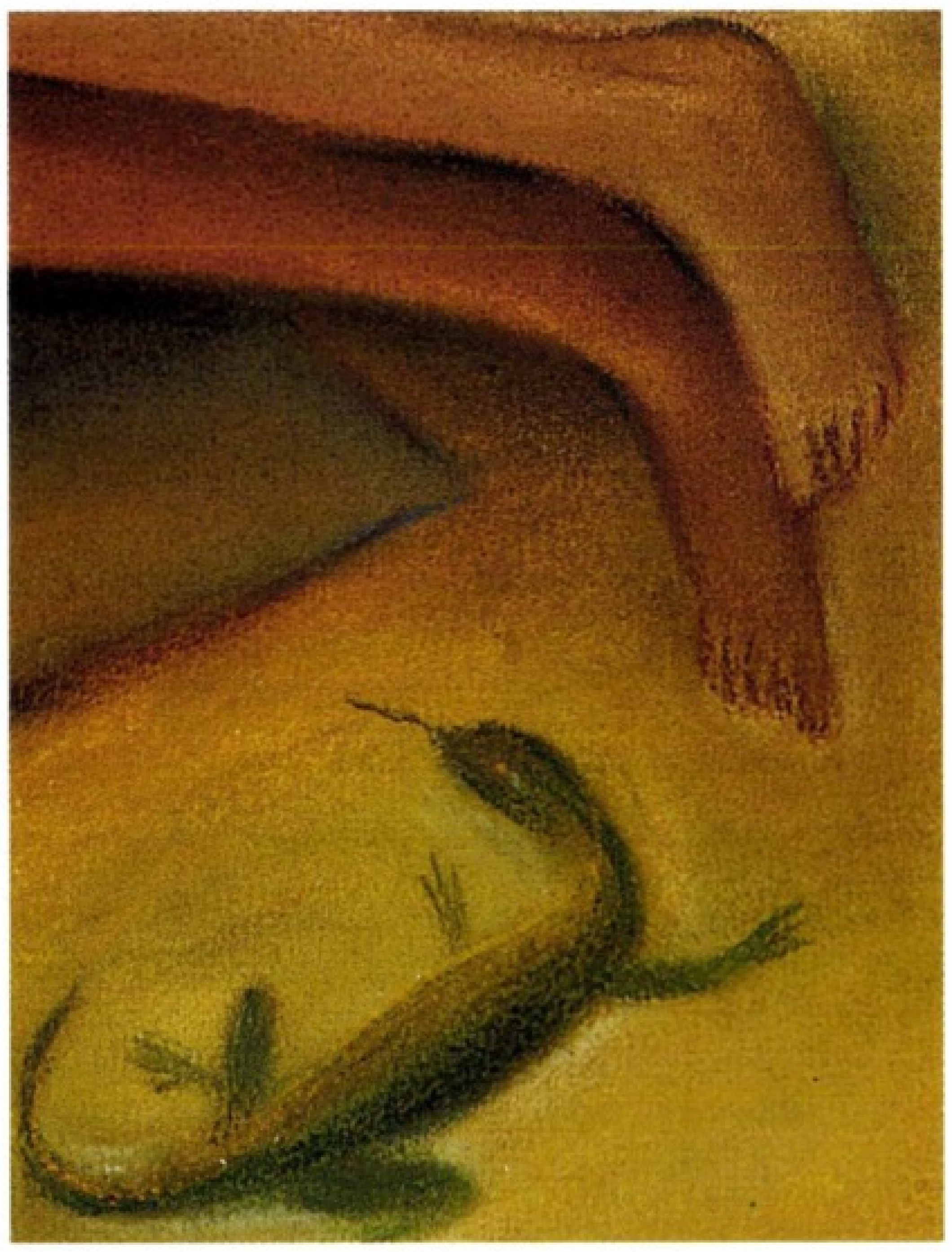
It was a small unremarkable town. There were rumours of murder and slavery, of women and children being burnt alive, people fleeing for their lives. No-one paid such stories any heed for they were old stories; tales that had been told by toothless grandmothers for as long as anyone could remember. The trouble lies beyond the town in the regions still inhabited by dangerous savages who defy the Government, who poison the wells and refuse the word of God, unbelievers who still worshipped rocks, not people from this town.

From time to time there was fighting in the hills to the south-east. The stubby fellow drew them into a circle. He wore grey trousers and a white shirt that hung over his belt where his waist protruded. He held the rifle loosely in one hand, dangling by his left side. He waved them to come forwards. Watch, he said and he flipped it clumsily from one hand to the other, raising it to his hip and pulling back the bolt. He showed them the cartridges and he sighted along the barrel at the pockmarked wall. You, he said, the one with that thing around your neck. So he stepped forwards and the man handed him the gun. It was heavier than he had expected and the man laughed. How old, boy – how old are you? Thirteen, he lied, for he was tall for his age. Like this it fires one bullet, and like this it fires many, the man beamed.

The drill over, they climbed excitedly into the back of the small pickup with barely enough room for them to stand. The car rolled slowly away, bouncing over the waves dug into the ground by countless lorries and last year's rains. The desert was transformed into a wide golden sea upon which they floated. They laughed at the feel of the wind in their faces, falling against one another as the vehicle rolled from side to side. The army was busy, surprised by a sudden attack; all their forces were concentrated to the east and there was a danger now of the rebels breaking through their flank across the mountains.

The droopy fellow climbed from the cab and lit a cigarette. There was a small dry valley which turned into a river during the rainy season but was dry as a bone now. Its sides were flanked with stunted trees and patches of yellow grass. Follow that up towards the top and stay there by the sandy grey rocks you can see. He walked along the troupe of boys inspecting them. He paused, his eye drawn by the flash of light on metal. He reached out a hand for the brass case. Why stuff the neck with cloth? he asked. To keep the rain out, the boy answered. The others laughed, but the man looked concerned. Amulets, talismen, superstition. When would these people give up their old beliefs? He turned away in irritation and waved them on their way.

They started up the valley together, but soon he had put a distance between himself and the others. They stopped to chat, to smoke cigarettes and look at their guns. His bare feet left no trace on the hard ground and soon he could no longer see them when he looked back. He slowed a bit. These mountains were strange. The air was different and the sky was deeper, more blue. It felt like a drum skin against which he rested his head. A bird flew over and he raised his gun, sighting along the barrel. He liked the feel of it in his hands. The sides were scratched and beaten. The wood which he gripped was worn smooth by other fingers. It surprised him how well it fitted to his hands, as though all of those people who had handled it before had been preparing it for him.



It was so still and silent. He had no idea of time, of how long he had been walking. The sun was falling, crashing towards the plain. He sat down to watch as the shadows grew longer. His father was wrong, the world was flat. When he turned his head he caught sight of a small lizard on the ground beside him. Stripes of orange and green ran the length of it. Its belly rose and fell at a fast beat. He stretched out a hand and it was gone. He continued upwards towards a pile of sandy grey rocks that seemed to have been stacked there by giants.

The man must have been crouched there among the rocks for he suddenly appeared, rising up before him. The tallest man in the world with long sharp limbs, bones like a bird. The two of them stood there, silent and motionless. Then the man's taut face relaxed and he seemed to say something, a greeting perhaps or a question. A great flower bloomed on his chest, spreading its crimson petals across the khaki fatigues. He vanished from sight as suddenly as he had come.

The sound of the shot came slowly as though off in time, many hours, many days away. He looked down at his hands and marvelled at the way in which his fingers fitted to the wood. The way the metal seemed charged. The ground beneath his feet was crawling with ants. He felt his muscles growing in his arms as he grew towards the rifle.

His hands are made of lead and his feet of clay. He remains standing there unmoving as the sun becomes the moon and his shadow turns silver and faint. When he reaches the bottom of the hill the laughing boys are gone, there is no-one about. His father was a fool. All that nonsense about ghosts and spirits being a thing of the past when nothing in the world had changed. It was the books and the papers with their mystical signs which had confounded him. The hills still rattled to the tune of their ancestors' dead bones. He begins to walk. Night becomes day and day night and so it goes. The sun blisters his tongue. His eyes are two dark holes torn in the blue blue sky by the hawks escaping through to the dark extraordinary night beyond. ■

Jamal Mahjoub's latest book is *Wings of Dust* (Heinemann, Oxford 1994). The Sudanese-British author now lives in Denmark.

CARLOS GUARITA / REPORTAGE

Competitive times for arms dealers: 'If you make just a million on one deal ... you're lucky'.

Counterblast

A Geneva-based international weapons dealer puts his side of the story.

'I WOULD say that the arms trade is now more powerful than during the years of the Cold War. Previously you had two blocs: now you have several and every country is trying to sell as much as they can without restrictions. The US is now the biggest exporter. Its share of the international market has more than tripled since the Cold War finished.

The Middle East is still the biggest market, but now the Far East is second. In the Middle East money is now relatively scarce. Saudi Arabia cannot pay for all its orders and has asked the US to reschedule $10 billion. This is completely unprecedented.

The traditional argument is that making weapons improves a country's security but in reality the arms trade is based on short-term profit. This is especially true of private companies.

At the moment there are only five or six countries in the world under arms embargoes – Iraq, Iran, North Korea, Libya and the former Yugoslavia. Actually they are not embargoed at all because you can always find holes.

Russia and North Korea are both selling to Iraq and Iran. Russia is very difficult to control. The only country that could do anything is the US who might block IMF loans. But it's pointless telling Yeltsin what to do because the industry is all privatized now and he has no real power over it.

All governments are hypocritical about the arms trade. They keep business out of the public eye whilst selling as much as they possibly can. Controls like the UN Conventional Arms Register could work, but only if governments were willing to admit what they have been selling. There will always be a breach in the system as it relies on honesty – and in the arms trade everybody tries to cheat. Also many buyers want to keep their purchases secret and suppliers have to agree or they may lose their contracts.

Even countries that claim they are trying to enforce this or that arms-control measure or agreement are meanwhile selling as much as they can. The US has asked the other big suppliers – UK, Russia, France, China and Germany – to practise restraint yet the US itself accounts for 70 per cent of global arms transfers.[1]

The majority of the people I know in this business did not set off in life thinking: 'I am going to work in the arms trade'. It's just something that happens. Of course if you start working for a defence supplier you are automatically involved. Many others are ex-military people; they have the advantage of talking the same language as their customers.

Sure, there is corruption. There are lots of payoffs and kickbacks to pay. In Nigeria, for example, you have to pay something every three minutes just to turn a deal. Governments themselves may also play a crooked game. Before they choose a system they want to test and evaluate it. They put out a tender for, say, 100 or 200 tanks on the international market. Firms that want to make money come to the bid. They then have to send one example of their product to the country for between one month and a year, along with all the logistic equipment which goes with it. This costs the firm a lot of money but if they don't do it they have no chance at all. Some governments try to rip firms off. They have no intention of buying anything but they use the testing period to learn about the system so they can copy it.

CARLOS GUARITA / REPORTAGE

Nowadays a middleman like me can expect to make between a half- and two-per-cent commission on a deal – and the kick-backs have to come out of this. If you make only a million dollars off a deal you're con-sidered lucky these days. It's much more difficult than before. The large sales tend to be inter-governmental, but you can make big money if you are prepared to deal with embargoed countries. In one deal for artillery shells with Libya the available commission was 35 per cent. About one-third of that went on kickbacks, the rest was split between the two men who set up the deal. They made over $60 million each. There are no real risks in this business if you work properly and stay within the law. It's like selling anything. As for guilt, it's not part of my philosophy. If it were I would be better off in another job. When you sell a shell you don't think what is going to happen with it. If you sell a car it's the same – someone might get run over. Some dealers don't even get to see the weapons; to them it's just a transaction on paper.

I have a problem with one of my neighbours. I told her about my work and now she doesn't say anything at all to me, not even 'good morning'. No, guilt is not a way of thinking in this game. You are involved through choice. If you start thinking like that you should work for Médecins sans Frontières or do some form of humanitarian work.' ■

Interview by **Darius Bazargan**

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[1] The official figure according to SIPRI is 48 per cent

SIMPLY...
MAKING PEACE

The Cold War created an economy and a mindset dominated by fear and preparation for war on a world scale. Changing that involves a lot more than literally turning 'swords into ploughshares'...

EDUCATION

More co-operative and less competitive ways of learning and playing may encourage future generations to share resources rather than fight over them. Traditionally, children have been taught that human history consists of a series of wars and battles. A non-militaristic education would look at the benefits of peace and the social impact of violence rather than raise warmongers to hero status. And a non-sexist education would release boys from the stereotypes that make them feel they have to be 'fighters'.

INDUSTRY

Defence company Dowty Aerospace (UK) has diversified into civil production, making landing gear for Airbus. A GEC-Marconi subsidiary has successfully moved into making TV satellite dishes. But the former USSR has undergone the most dramatic conversion programme – with 778 establishments and 347 research organizations converted since the Cold War ended. There were major job losses, but two-thirds of the 877,000 defence workers affected were rehired on civil work. The IMF suggests that an internationally co-ordinated 20 per cent cut in defence spending would actually boost world trade.

POLITICS AND DEMOCRACY

Supporting the forces for democracy – human-rights groups, women's groups and unions – is one way of helping to maintain peace. Early support for democratic government structures at a time of mounting tension can help halt social and political deterioration to warlordism and civil strife. More democracy in North-South relations is crucial to peace too. If the countries of the South are exploited by those of the North, internal conflicts and tensions will develop in the South. Reducing Third World debt and Northern over-consumption of resources would help create real security and the conditions under which peace can flourish.

PEACE THEORY AND PRACTICE

Funding peace researchers and campaigners, and founding peace academies devoted to the study and development of mediation methods, might not only help to resolve conflicts but prevent them flaring up in the first place. The savings, in both human and economic terms, would far outweigh the cost. At the global level, an invigorated and more democratic UN (not controlled by the current Security Council veto-holders, who are the main arms producers anyway) could enforce and oversee progressive disarmament. Researchers and campaigners have an important role to play in raising public awareness and developing a more positive consciousness.

ILLUSTRATION BY JACKIE MORRIS

GREEN GUARDIANS

Military technology and scientific know-how could be put to good use clearing up the huge mess militarism has made – 400 million dollars' worth in the US alone. Companies could be given incentives; soldiers could do the cleaning up and become 'green guardians'. Then 'defence' would become 'defence of the environment'.

DIFFERENCE

Accepting and respecting difference – be it racial, gender, cultural, religious, class or other – can help prevent conflicts from developing and escalating into violence and oppression. Many conflicts arise because people fail to communicate across each others' differences. Drawing from different philosophies – such as Buddhism or Quakerism – which offer approaches to violence and peacemaking different from the mainstream may also provide new ideas – and hope.

VIOLENCE BLOCKERS

Weapons need not kill or maim. They could just halt violence in its tracks. Research is underway – especially in the US – into non-lethal defence weapons that could be used for peacekeeping purposes. These include spraying foam, stun guns, foul-smelling vapours, sleep inducing fog, lubricants and super-strong adhesives to spread across roads to impede the passage of tanks or troops, or on airstrips to stop aircraft taking off. Jamming electronics is already happening to enforce UN-mandated no-fly-zones in former Yugoslavia.

CREATIVE ECONOMICS

Turning military economies into civilian ones requires planning. But the benefits could be tremendous. The 'peace dividend' (the money saved from not having to build up vast Cold War arsenals) could be used to finance education, job-creation and international programmes to deal with other social and environmental needs. Global economic relations could be restructured to enable developing countries to have access to greater resources, and many of the problems that lead to war and conflict in the first place might then be avoided. Economic inequality is one of the main sources of conflict in the world – so converting from an economy of inequality to one of equality could mean converting from a war to a peace economy.

ACTION

Socialist Worker
NO WAR
No blood for oil
COMMITTEE TO STOP WAR IN THE GULF

CHRIS STEELE-PERKINS / MAGNUM

The final aim of challenging militarism and the arms trade is global peace and disarmament. But it won't happen overnight. This section focuses on what you can do to make a difference:

1 TRANSPARENCY

- **Demand that your government has a public register of arms transfers.**
- **Demand that any hidden subsidies be made open to public scrutiny and debate.**
- **Demand that your government complies with the UN Register for Conventional Weapons.**

2 CODE OF CONDUCT

- **Demand that your government halts arms exports to countries known to have poor human rights. These include: China, India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Turkey, Rwanda, Zaire, Egypt, Iran, Sri Lanka, Brazil, Guatemala, Peru, Kenya, Nigeria.**
- **Demand that your government halts arms exports to areas where they will fuel conflict. This includes: Afghanistan, Rwanda, Somalia, former Yugoslavia, Turkey, Iraq, Indonesia, Sri Lanka.**
- **Demand that your government halts arms exports to countries where such exports are sabotaging development. This includes most countries in the South. Those spending more than twice as much on defence as on education and health include Pakistan, Turkey, Iraq and Sri Lanka.**

3 CONVERSION

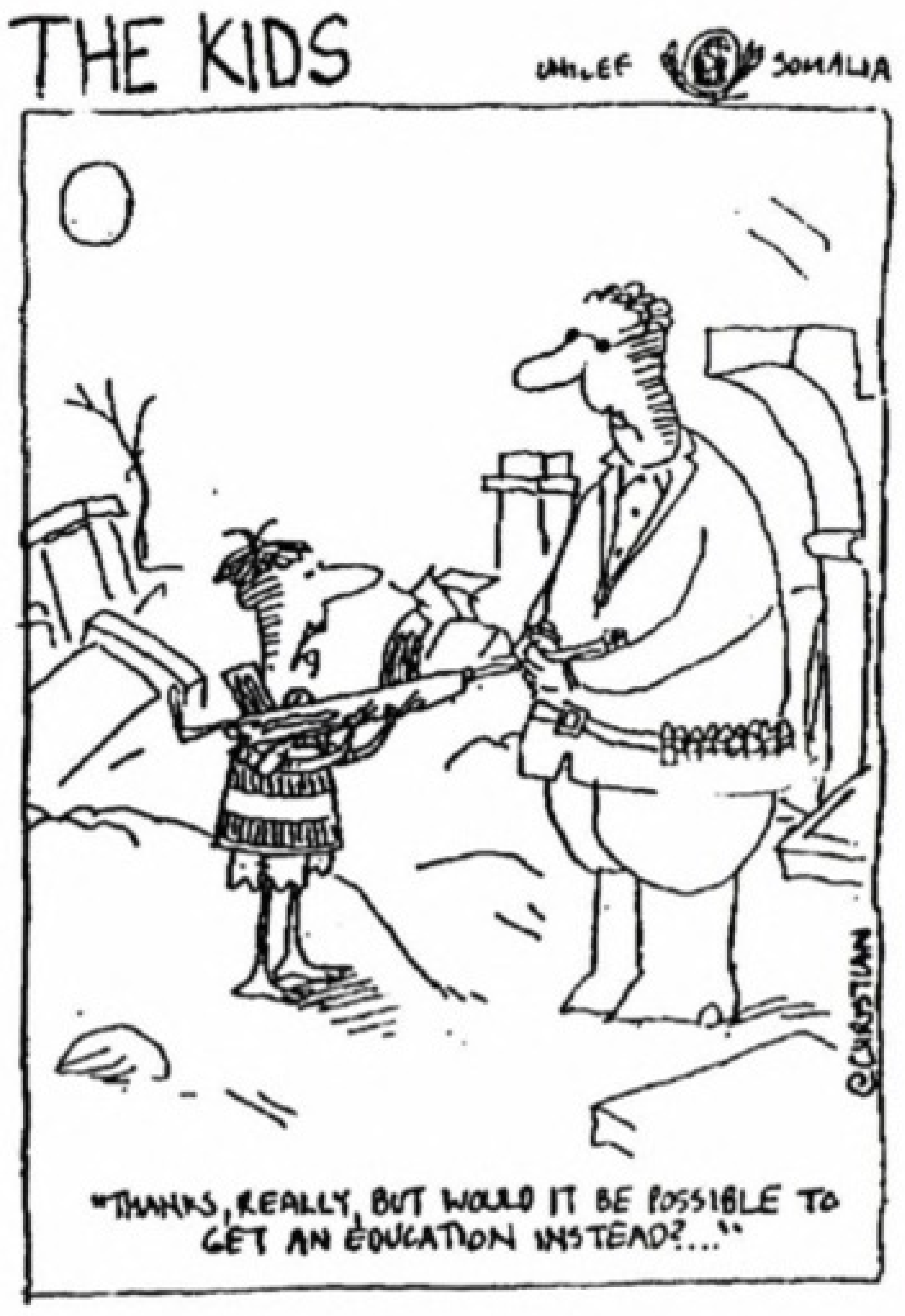
- **Demand that the money saved from cuts in defence spending be directed toward demilitarization projects.**
- **Demand that your government promotes and supports global demilitarization initiatives through the UN.**
- **If your country is part of the European Union demand that they support the Konver conversion programme to promote new civil industries in areas hit by defence job losses.**

LETTER POWER!

This is one way you can express your concern about your country's arms trade policy – and influence those who make decisions on your behalf.

Write to your country's leader or your political representative. Your letter could include the following questions:

- **What arms are the government exporting?**
- **Which countries are they going to?**
- **Does the government sell arms to any countries that abuse human rights?**
- **Is taxpayers' money being used to promote or subsidize arms sales?**
- **What steps are being taken to protect jobs in the defence industry by supporting conversion from weapons manufacture?**


THE KIDS
UNICEF SOMALIA
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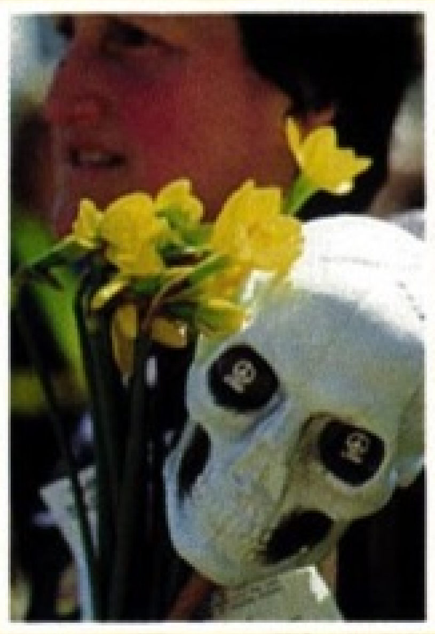
"THANKS, REALLY, BUT WOULD IT BE POSSIBLE TO GET AN EDUCATION INSTEAD?..."

No-one involved in the arms trade wants to tell you much about it. However, it is possible to cut through the secrecy and get the inside story yourself. To join those who are doing so, contact the following groups and become part of the movement against the world's bloodiest trade.

AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND

Peace Movement Aotearoa

PO Box 9314 Te Aro,Wellington
Tel/fax: (04) 382 8210



STUART FRANKLIN / MAGNUM

Networks and co-ordinates campaigns between individuals and peace groups in Aotearoa/NZ and overseas, and with other groups working on conflict, exploitation and social justice. Provides a focal point for the dissemination of information, peace research and education. Particularly concerned about the growth of the Aotearoa/NZ defence industry and the Government's role in its promotion.

New Zealand Nuclear-Free Peacemaking Association

PO Box 18541, Christchurch
Tel: (03) 388 9816

Campaigns to keep the country free of nuclear weapons and expand nuclear-weapon-free zones elsewhere with the objective of a nuclear-free world. Also campaigns against the arms trade and for peaceful, just solutions to wars. Provides resource papers.

World Court Project

c/o Kate Dewes, PO Box 8390
Christchurch
Tel/fax: (03) 3481-353. Email:
Katie@chch.planet.co.nz.

Comprises a coalition of international peace groups. Has succeeded in having the legality of the use of nuclear weapons placed on the agenda for discussion by the International Court of Justice at the Hague during 1995. More than 30 countries have put submissions to the Court – the majority arguing that the use is illegal under international law.

AUSTRALIA

Australian Campaign Against the Arms Trade (ACAAT)

PO Box 1017, Aitkenvale QLD 4814
Tel: (61)77 89 1664 Fax: (61) 77 251501

Monitors and campaigns against the arms trade with a special focus on the Pacific region and on arms sales to Burma.

IT'S YOUR RIGHT TO KNOW!

Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific

122B Percival Rd, Stanmore, NSW 2048
Tel: (02) 550 9967 Fax: (02) 552 4583

Campaigns for self-determination and independence throughout the Pacific regions and against militarization and nuclearization. Also undertakes some regional monitoring of the arms trade.

AIDWatch

Level 3, 94 Liverpool St.,
Sydney, NSW 2000, or PO Box
652, Woollahra, NSW 20025
Tel: (02) 264 6092
Fax: (02) 264 6092

While the main focus of AIDWatch is on 'monitoring the development dollar' it also monitors Australian defence spending and especially when this comprises Australian aid.

CANADA

Coalition Opposing the Arms Trade (COAT)

484 Metcalfe St, Ottawa,
Ontario K1S 3N7
Tel: (613) 231 3076 Fax: (613) 231 2614

A public education and lobbying organization representing a network of like-minded church, trade union, human rights, student and peace groups. Launched originally to oppose military trade shows, COAT's main focus is now the conversion of arms industries into peaceful civilian production. Publishes *Press for Conversion* - a newsletter with international circulation - and has links with similar groups in 15 countries.

Project Ploughshares

Institute of Conflict Studies,
Conrad Grebel College, Waterloo,
Ontario N2L 3G6
Tel: (519) 888 6541 Fax: (519) 885 0014

A long-established and respected national peace and justice organization focusing on the arms trade, disarmament and militarism. Network includes churches, development agencies and community groups as well as individuals. Main activities are lobbying, education and research. Also publishes *Ploughshares Monitor*.

UK

Campaign Against the Arms Trade (CAAT)

11 Goodwin St, London N4 3HQ
Tel: (071) 281 0297 Fax: (071) 281 4369

Monitors the arms trade, produces authoritative reports and campaigns extensively. In 1995 it is going to step up its campaign against arms sales to Indonesia, aimed at stopping the delivery of British Hawk aircraft. Is publishing a report on the effect of the arms trade on employment and will continue to campaign against secrecy in the arms trade. In 1995 CAAT will organize a mass protest at the Royal Navy and British Arms Equipment Fair at Aldershot. Produces *CAAT News*.

BREAD N BOMBS
CAMPAIGN AGAINST ARMS TRADE 071 281 0297

Safer World

82 Colston St,
Bristol BS1 5BB
Tel: (0272) 276435
Fax: (0272) 253305

An independent foreign-affairs think tank and public-education group committed to alerting governments to the need for a new approach to tackling and preventing armed conflicts around the globe. A key aspect of its work is to raise the debate among European governments about controlling the arms trade and to build support for a Code of Conduct to regulate arms exports from Europe and stop them going to countries which abuse human rights or undermine development.

World Development Movement

25 Beehive Place, London SW9 7QR
Tel: (071) 737 6215 Fax: (071) 274 8232

A pressure group that is fighting for political changes to benefit the world's poor. Their anti-arms-trade campaign has mobilized thousands of people to write to the British Government and leading banks, calling on them to stop using the public's money to finance arms sales to repressive regimes and areas of conflict. They have now taken the British Government to court, accusing it of using aid money to Malaysia as a sweetener for arms deals.

STOP THE WAR! NEGOTIATE NOW!

RICHARD SMITH / KATZ

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

162 Holloway Rd, London N7 8DQ
Tel: (071) 700 2393 Fax: (071) 700 2357

Campaigns for a time-limited extension of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty when it runs out in April 1995 and for a new global treaty banning all nuclear weapons. CND has also been active in the campaign against establishing a plutonium-reprocessing plant at Thorp which threatens to flood the world with cheap nuclear material.

Peace Pledge Union

Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh
Street, London WC1H 0DX
Tel: (071) 387 5501. Fax: (071) 383 7342

Has been compaigning for peace for the past 60 years. It has challenged government directly by organizing campaigns whereby individuals withhold paying tax unless it is used for peaceful purposes.

UNICEF (UK Committee)

55 Lincolns Inn Fields,
London WC2A 3NB
Tel: (071) 405 5592 Fax: (071) 405 2332

UNICEF is campaigning to ban the production, use, stockpiling, sales and export of landmines. The UK office is calling on supporters to represent the case against landmines to MPs in advance of the Review Conference of Inhumane Weapons Con-vention scheduled for September 1995. With the aim of protecting children from armed conflict, UNICEF is trying to establish a global consensus on the concept of 'children as zones of peace'.

US

Arms Sales Monitoring Project

Federation of American Scientists,
307 Massachusetts Avenue NE,
Washington DC 20062
Tel: (202) 675 1018 Fax: (202) 675 1010

An offshoot of the Federation of American Scientists (FAS), the Project aims to reduce the global production and trade in conventional arms. It attempts to expose the influence of the US arms industry and to lobby Washington to change US Government policy on arms sales. Publishes the bimonthly *Arms Sales Monitor* and works closely with other anti-arms trade groups.

Peace Action Education Fund

1819 H Street NW,
Ste. 660,
Washington DC
20006
Tel: (202) 862 0762

The largest grassroots peace organization in the US (formerly SANE/FREEZE) representing nearly 50 million Americans. National headquarters feeds information to local chapters in more than 30 states through Grassroots Network Against Arms Trade (GNAT). Helps co-ordinate local strategies into effective national strategies. Main concerns: conventional arms trade, nuclear disarmament and conversion to a peace economy. Also maintains links with groups outside the US campaigning against the arms trade.

RESEARCH AND RESOURCES

Bradford University Department of Peace Studies

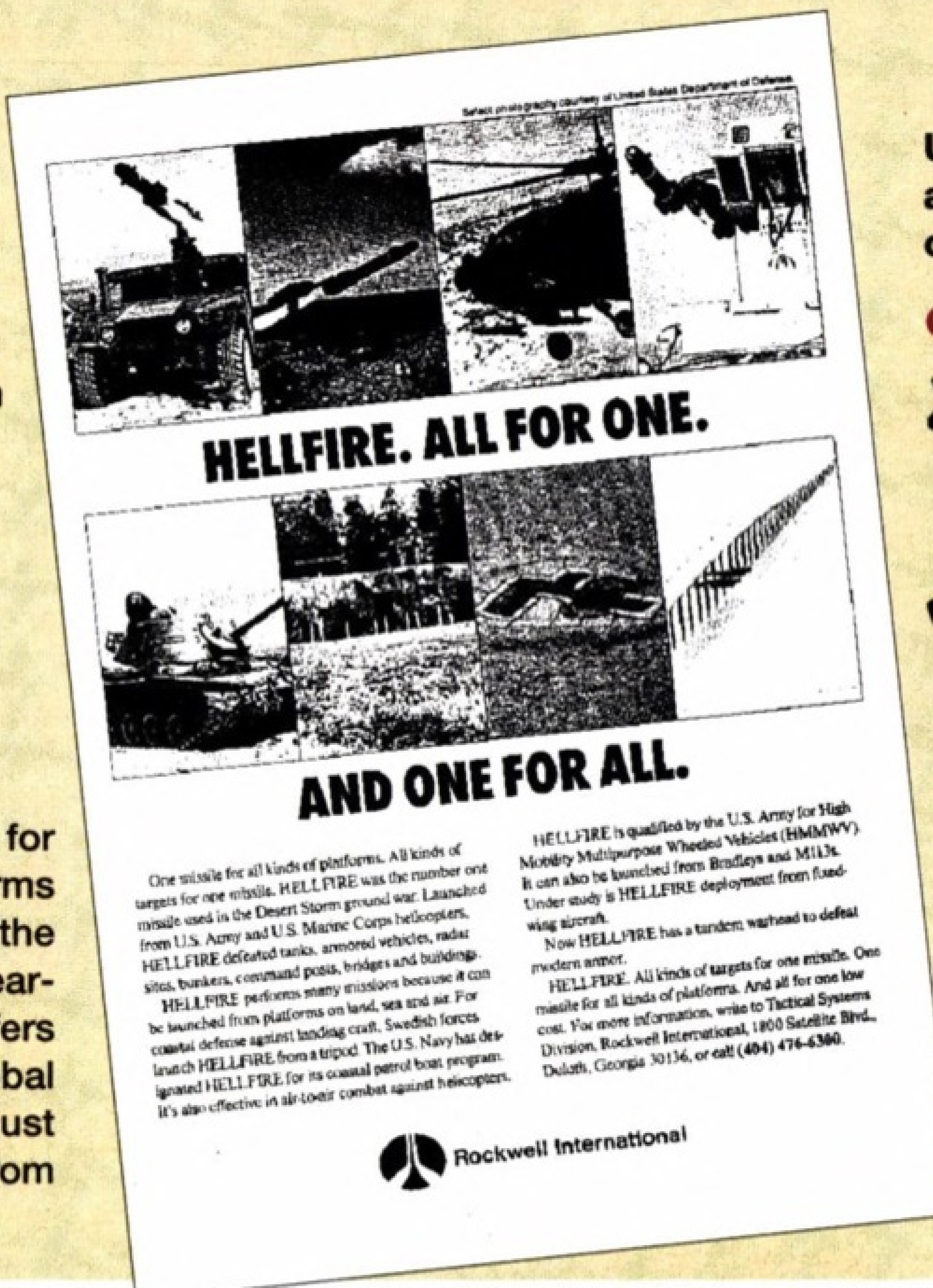
Bradford BD7 1DP, UK.

Deals exclusively with peace and related issues and is the largest centre of its kind in the world. Produces an extensive range of peace research reports.

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)

Pipers vag 28, s-170 73 Solna,
Sweden.
Tel (46) 8/655 97 00.
Fax: (46) 8/655 97 33.

An independent international institute for research into peace and conflict, arms control and disarmament. Produces the authoritative 800-odd page SIPRI Yearbook which compiles details of transfers during the year and analyzes global trends. The *1994 SIPRI Yearbook* has just been published and is available from Oxford University Press.



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HELLFIRE is qualified by the U.S. Army for High Mobility Multipurpose Wheeled Vehicles (HMMWV). It can also be launched from Bradleys and M113s. Under study is HELLFIRE deployment from fixed-wing aircraft.

Now HELLFIRE has a tandem warhead to defeat modern armor.

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Rockwell International

FROM *ARMING THE WORLD* TEACHING PACK

ZED NELSON / KATZ

BOOKS AND TEACHING MATERIALS

A World Divided – Militarism and Development After the Cold War edited by *Geoff Tansey, Kath Tansey and Paul Rogers (Earthscan 1994)* looks at how the Cold War legacy of militarism, the worsening economic polarization of North and South and environmental degradation are contributing to global insecurity. This book also proposes alternatives and action for change.

Between the Guns – Children as Zones of Peace by *Tarzie Vittachi (Hodder and Stoughton, 1993)* is a hopeful account of how over 20 years aid workers from UNICEF challenged militarism and gained consent from warring factions to enter war zones in Uganda, Mozambique, El Salvador, Liberia and Iraq, to immunize children against the six vaccinable diseases that were claiming the lives of millions of children each year.

World Military and Social Priorities by *Ruth Leger Sivard (World Priorities, 1994).* This annual report details trends and makes pertinent comparisons between military and social spending.

Arming the World: the International Trade in Arms is a teaching pack produced by the Trust for Research and Education on the Arms Trade in collaboration with Oxford Development Education Centre (1993). Designed for use by teachers, youth workers or in adult study groups, the pack contains primary sources such as newspaper cuttings and arms advertisements. Different sections of the pack concentrate on the moral and economic aspects of the topic including an activity on arms conversion. It can be ordered from *CAAT, 11 Goodwin St., London N4 3HQ, UK*.

BAD COMPANY

Use your power as a consumer to avoid the companies with defence connections.

Cars

- ✗ General Motors (USA) is the fourth largest defence manufacturer in the world. Ford, Fiat, Nissan, Volvo, Renault have military connections.
- ✓ Citroen, Peugeot, Volkswagen, Audi, Seat, Talbot seem OK.

Audio, video and computer equipment

- ✗ Toshiba is one of Japan's five biggest defence contractors. Hitachi has military connections. IBM and NEC are in the top 100 biggest arms producers in the world.
- ✓ JVC, National, Panasonic, Technics, Amstrad, Sharp and Sony seem OK.

Records and CDs

- ✗ EMI, HMV, Capitol are owned by Thorn EMI (UK) a leading defence manufacturer and exporter.
- ✓ Virgin and Warner seem OK.

Domestic appliances

- ✗ Hotpoint, Creda and Cannon are owned by General Electric Company (UK), UK's second largest manufacturer of military equipment.
- ✓ Electrolux (Sweden) seems OK.

DIY, Gardening and cleaning products

- ✗ ICI which makes a wide range of paints, pesticides and fertilisers also makes explosives. Williams Holding also has military connections.

Clothes:

- ✗ Coats Viyella make uniforms and protective clothing for the military.

Fuel

- ✗ All companies seem to have military contracts – Texaco is one of the worst.

Thanks to Paul Eavis at Safer World, for providing information for the Action section.

BABY MILK

The battle of the bottle

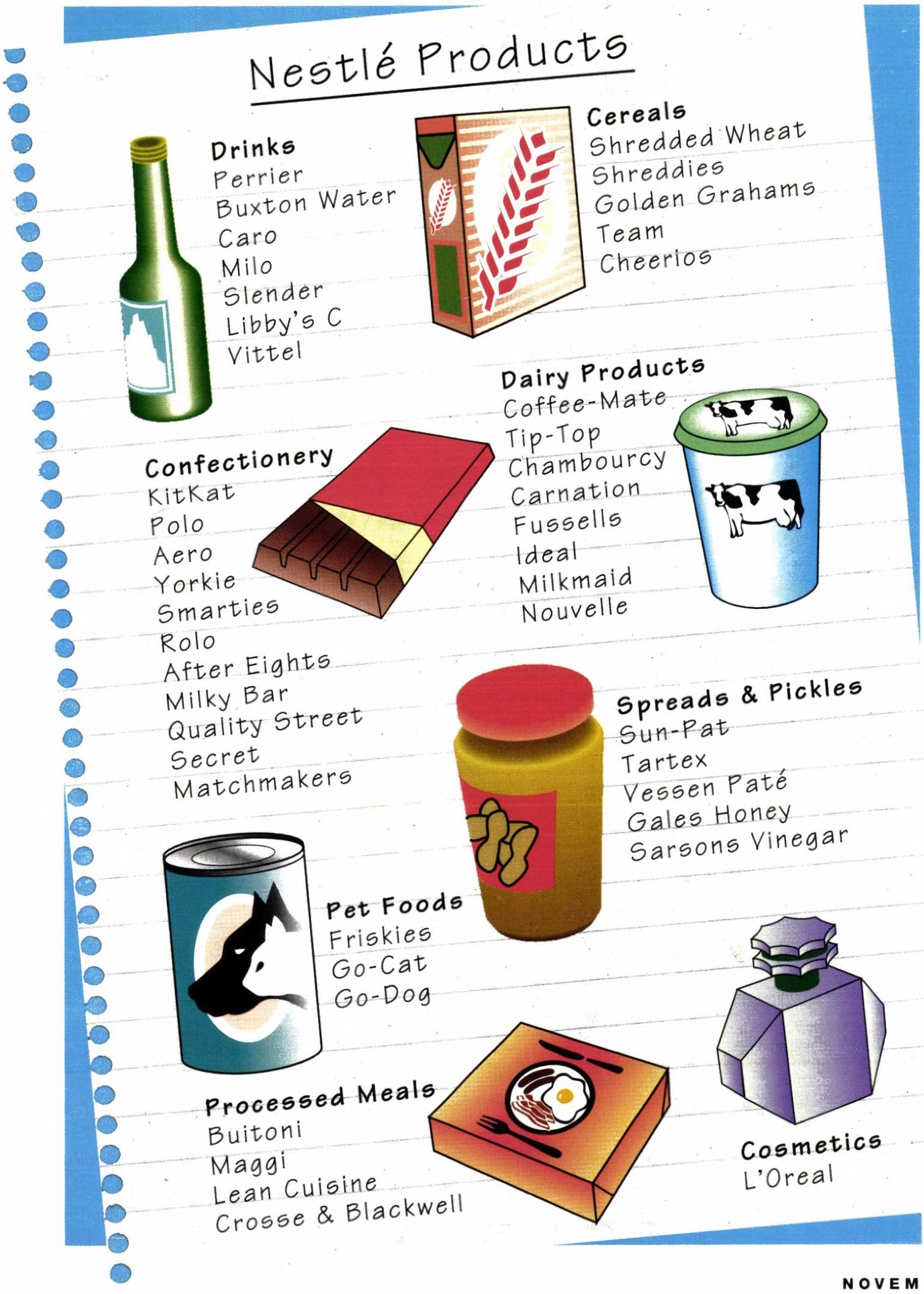
Boycott of Nestlé products

BABY Milk Action continues its boycott campaign against Nestlé, one of the world's largest manufacturers of baby milk. Unsafe bottle-feeding, they say, kills a baby every 30 seconds. Nestlé undermines breastfeeding to create a market for its baby milks – if it doesn't get babies on the bottle it won't do business.

The boycott campaign focuses on Nestlé's biggest-selling brand, Nescafé. But there's a long list of other brand names.

For more information contact:

UK:	Baby Milk Action, 23 St Andrew's Street, Cambridge CB2 3AX.
Aotearoa/NZ:	Breastfeeding Clinic, 41 Halton Street, Christchurch 5.
Australia:	Baby Food Action Group, Community Aid Abroad, 156 George Street, Fitzroy, 3065.
Canada:	IBFAN, 10 Trinity Square, Toronto M5G 1B1, Ontario.
USA:	Action, 129 Church Street, Newhaven, CT065610.



Nestlé Products

Drinks
Perrier
Buxton Water
Caro
Milo
Slender
Libby's C
Vittel

Cereals
Shredded Wheat
Shreddies
Golden Grahams
Team
Cheerios

Dairy Products
Coffee-Mate
Tip-Top
Chambourcy
Carnation
Fussells
Ideal
Milkmaid
Nouvelle

Confectionery
KitKat
Polo
Aero
Yorkie
Smarties
Rolo
After Eights
Milky Bar
Quality Street
Secret
Matchmakers

Spreads & Pickles
Sun-Pat
Tartex
Vessen Paté
Gales Honey
Sarsons Vinegar

Pet Foods
Friskies
Go-Cat
Go-Dog

Processed Meals
Buitoni
Maggi
Lean Cuisine
Crosse & Blackwell

Cosmetics
L'Oreal

Fumer peut vous tuer
Médaillon
Ultra Douce
25 Cigarettes King Size

Killer lobby

Cigarette packets in Canada must now carry compulsory warnings like 'Smoking can kill you'. The tobacco lobby, for its part, has killed a Government initiative to have all cigarette packaging standardized, with no design elements on plain brown paper.

Wayne Ellwood

Homeless surfers

A group of homeless men is 'surfing' on the Internet global computer communications network via the Seattle Public Library. They discovered the Internet link on the library computer terminals for themselves. Some library staff were not even aware of its existence until they noticed the men sitting at the terminals for hours on end. The men are now considered the in-house experts. The potential problem of a shortage of terminals was averted when they met and agreed not to hog the computers and give others a go. 'This is one of the most effective experiments in universal access,' said deputy city librarian Craig Buthod.

New Scientist no 1938.

Plaque removers

Beijing-controlled Tibet TV has announced the sentencing of five Tibetans to jail terms of up to 15 years for putting up pro-independence posters and smashing a Communist Party building's plaque.

Far Eastern Economic Review vol 157, no 32.

No Brazil in Brazil

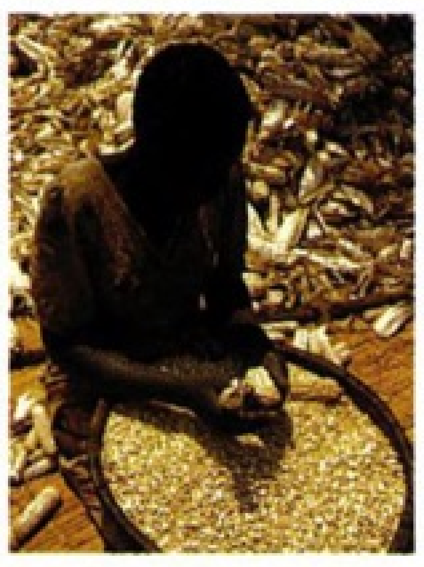
Some of the last remaining habitats of the Brazilwood tree are under threat. The wood, used to make bridges for violins, fetches an even higher price than mahogany and is frequently smuggled out of the country. The first Portuguese colonists thought the colour of its trunk resembled that of a coal fire (*brasa* in Portuguese), and named the country after it because of the abundance of the tree in Brazil's Atlantic coastline forest. This forest has now almost disappeared and property development along the coast east of Rio de Janeiro is threatening what remains. The botanic garden in Rio is trying to persuade local authorities to create reserves for the tree.

New Scientist no 1938.

Sardine sandwich

World records have been tumbling in Lima, Peru. Some 11,200 rolls of bread and large quantities of sardine paste were used to build a row of sandwiches measuring 4,500 metres, the longest ever constructed. Afterwards spectators rushed to take pieces away for lunch. On the same day the world's largest mural was painted, overtaking one at Mexico City University. A Lima environmental group now plans to build the world's largest broom from the trunk of a eucalyptus tree.

World Press Review vol 41, no 8.



ALISON MASON / PANOS PICTURES

Crop crisis

Crop failure in Malawi has led the World Food Programme to provide maize rations for seven months to 1.2 million people and for three months to 500,000 people who are less critically affected. In addition there is a feeding programme of beans and nutritious blended food for 500,000 children aged under five. A major difference from the drought in 1992-93 that devastated southern Africa is that maize can now be purchased in the region, especially in Zimbabwe and South Africa.

Southern Africa Political and Economic Monthly vol 7, no 10.

JIMMY HOLMES / PANOS PICTURES

Missed target

Japan will probably fail to meet the commitment it made at the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro to freeze its carbon-dioxide emissions. A draft report by the country's Environment Agency says that by the year 2000 emissions will probably surpass 1990 levels by about three per cent. The surplus amounts to some 10 million tonnes of carbon dioxide. Even these estimates are regarded by many environmentalists as optimistic. The Environment Agency suggests that consumers should switch to energy-efficient appliances, recycle rubbish and insulate their homes.

New Scientist no 1938.

WORLD BANK

RODERICK JOHNSON / PANOS PICTURES

Villagers displaced by the rising waters of Sardar Sarovar still resist resettlement.

Dammed

Resistance to Indian project continues

CHILDREN have died and people are suffering because the World Bank is shirking its responsibilities to villagers displaced by the Sardar Sarovar dam project in India.

Three young girls and a four-year-old boy have died from diarrhoea and malnutrition at the resettlement site at Simamli in Gujarat. According to Narmada Bachao Andolan, a local anti-dam group, people resettled at Simamli received no medical attention before the deaths. Living conditions are so appalling that 50 of the 80 families sent to the site have tried to return home.

'Home' was the village of Dhankhedi, Maharashtra, the area in which the dam is being constructed. Although the World Bank pulled out of the dam project earlier in the year it supplied India with $200 million in loans for the project and is still responsible for enforcing the conditions of the credit agreements signed in 1985. These require that people resettled must be able to improve their standard of living or at least regain it 'as soon as possible'.

Many villagers who have tried to resist resettlement have been forcibly removed from their homes by Indian police.

In July a court ruling in Nandurbar ordered the release of protesters. According to Narmada Bachao Andolan this ruling 'clearly shows that state officials are involved in illegal activities to suppress resistance by the people'. They add that police have impounded the group's motorboat, which for some was the only source of relief supplies.

Despite Government attempts to prevent them from leaving, many people due to be evicted from the village of Vadgam, also in Maharashtra, travelled to Boroda to protest. They were joined by other project-affected people from Gujarat. Similar rallies have been held in Badwani, Madhya Pradesh and Bombay. ■

Probe International

ANIMALS

Tiddles on top

Upmarket stores lure pampered pets

THE pet-food business in North America is preparing itself for a dog-eat-dog battle over who will take the lion's share of a multi-billion-dollar business. The US-based Petstuff Inc, one of the top dogs in pet-food retailing, is set to invade Canada and plans to open four superstores in the Toronto area by the end of the year. Supermarkets and speciality stores such as Pet Value Inc are preparing for the battle.

A Petstuff Inc store carries 6,500 products to keep Rover and Tiddles happy. Customers can acquire anything from dog paddles – for canines who have trouble with swimming – to Kitty Kondo, a playhouse for cats that has wall-to-wall broadloom carpet. The pet-apparel line includes hats and T-shirts.

'Humans love this stuff,' says a Petstuff spokesperson. 'Especially if they're a childless couple, they'll treat their pet as the child of the family and shower it with gifts at Christmas and birthday time.'

Stores provide services like grooming, obedience training, photography, adoption and a knowledgeable sales staff. There is also the powerful lure of low prices.

Pet speciality stores are a growth industry as pet owners become increasingly health-conscious. The so-called 'high-end' brands of dog and cat food are capturing a larger share of the market. Supermarkets, which compete more on price than selection or service, have been the biggest losers. Their share of pet-food sales has plunged.

One pet owner feeds her dog on a canned lamb and rice concoction, while one of her two cats is on a special diet for overweight felines. She wouldn't dream of giving them cheaper brands from the grocery store. Another pet owner blamed supermarket brands for giving her dog gas. The purveyors of pet élitism are sharpening their claws for what could be a bloody battle. Whoever wins will pocket the fortune pet owners are prepared to pay to keep their charges in top shape.

'Nutrition is coming on very strong,' says David Mitchell, general manager of the Pet Food Association of Canada. ■

Alan Hughes

MEXICO

The power of pox

Expulsions from communities in Chiapas

DRESSED in the red-and-black Tzotzil Mayan indigenous costume, Domingo Lopez Ruiz taps his silver-tipped wooden baton authoritatively on the ground. Some three-dozen village elders surround the corpulent *cacique* ('boss'), many with eyes glazed from habitual abuse of *pox* (pronounced 'posh'), the local hard liquor. In the nearby white-and-blue church Mayan indigenous peasants sit in a cloud of incense on the pine-needle-covered floor, praying in the Tzotzil language as they offer candles, bottles of Pepsi and *pox* to the Mayan-Catholic gods.

DAVID RANSOM

San Juan Chamula: strange spectacle

The *caciques* have been granted valuable franchises by the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) in return for ensuring votes for the party from the local population. In the last 20 years, since the arrival of progressive Catholic and evangelical missionaries, some 30,000 converts have been banished from their communities for failure to 'uphold traditional customs'.

'To live in San Juan Chamula you have to join in all the alcohol-soaked, incense-shrouded rituals and be a PRI member,' says diocesan priest Father Gonzalo Ituarte who was himself banished from Chamula 16 years ago.

'Before we knew God we bought their alcohol and candles,' says Pedro Lopez, a Seventh-Day Adventist banished from San Juan Chamula with his family of six. 'But when we stopped, they got angry.'

Lopez is one of 584 people chased out of San Juan Chamula last September when Lopez Ruiz sent his men on the rampage. They burnt at least six houses, damaged 40 others, and beat and threatened villagers.

But Lopez Ruiz's days of absolute power over this strange, spectacular community could be numbered. Proposed reforms to the penal code could imprison *caciques* for up to 10 years.

'It seems that the Government has finally decided that it's not worth its while to keep this handful of despots in power,' says Father Ituarte. Leader Juan Perez agrees: 'It's only since the Zapatista uprising that we've seen signs that at last something is being done'.

A Government commission proposes resettling those expelled from Chamula elsewhere. But Pedro Lopez says they are determined to return home and stand up to the *caciques*: 'If we give in now, the expulsions will continue and they will become even more powerful.' ■

Mary Durran

Duty-free booty

Brazil's triumphant World Cup soccer team returned home with 17 tonnes of baggage – 13 tonnes more than they had taken with them to the US. The luggage included TV sets, microwave ovens, refrigerators and computers. When a zealous airport official dared to suggest a customs check the players threatened not to take part in the scheduled parade through Rio de Janeiro. Finance Minister Rubens Ricupero telephoned the airport to get the baggage through unchecked. The head of the tax department, Osiris Lopes Filho, was forced to resign. After public indignation, however, customs inspectors visited each player at home to collect an estimated $1 million in unpaid duty.

The Economist vol 332, no 7875.

END

END Quote

'We are this beacon of hope for the world because we are so improbable.'

Archbishop Desmond Tutu

FICO
PUEBLO

Grupo Belén de Tarma (above) producing indigenous pop from Peru; and endangered sounds from Waorani Waaponi (left).

music

Waorani Waaponi

by **Waorani Waaponi** *(Tumi CD 043)*

Chicha

by **Grupo Belén de Tarma** *(Tumi CD 045)*

City of stone

by **Rumillajta** *(Tumi CD001)*

For those fascinated by the rare, endangered musics of the world, **Waorani Waaponi** – the title means Waaponi tribe – makes for absorbing listening. The album consists of chants and songs belonging to the Waaponi, an Ecuadorian Amazon people who today number less than 2,000. Their unaccompanied music is set against a backdrop of jungle sounds: chattering birds, insects and the odd, piercing cries of monkeys. The effect of this is to stress the communal importance of song and to emphasize its importance in Waaponi society. The music itself is functional: war dances, hunting songs, songs to accompany *chicha* drinking and chants to greet the day. The Waaponi have a reputation for being very independent but their culture is under threat from the encroachment of Western industries. And not only them. The *cohuode* (outsiders) come in all forms. One of the groups that the Waaponi want to avoid are anthropologists. So where does that leave the ethics of this album? The Tumi technicians were actually invited by the community to make these field recordings, acknowledging, perhaps, the uncertain future that their culture faces.

One response to this dilemma is adaptation, of which the album **Chicha** is a prime example. Named after the Andean maize-brewed hootch beer, *chicha* music is made up of local sounds fermented with *salsa, cumbia* and a lilting *huayno* rhythm. Grupo Belén de Tarma is one of Peru's leading bands for urbanized indigenous and *mestizo* youth. Led by vocalist Hector Acuna Vila, the seven-strong group combine timbales with keyboards and guitars. Due to the absence of an earthy bass, they achieve a sound which has a jaunty infectiousness. At times, Belén's faraway harmonies are reminiscent of 1950s American pop. It's an open-ended sound that's light, breezy and fascinating.

If you were captivated by your first encounter with Andean pan-pipe music, the odds are that it had something to do with the Bolivian group, Rumillajta. From the mid-1980s onwards Rumill-ajta (which means 'City of Stone' in Quechua) were responsible for injecting a note of strangeness and beauty into our musical collections. Their haunting, ethereal sound carried off the crowns from numerous festivals, including Edinburgh and the Welsh *Eisteddfod*.

City of Stone was first released in 1984. This CD re-release is more than welcome. The 10 songs and instrumentals capture the band at its best and the gentle strummings of the *charango* guitars create an uncluttered freshness.

Politics ☆☆☆☆
Entertainment ☆☆
Politics ☆☆☆
Entertainment ☆☆☆☆
Politics ☆☆☆☆
Entertainment ☆☆☆☆

books

My Children, My Gold

Meetings with Women of the Fourth World

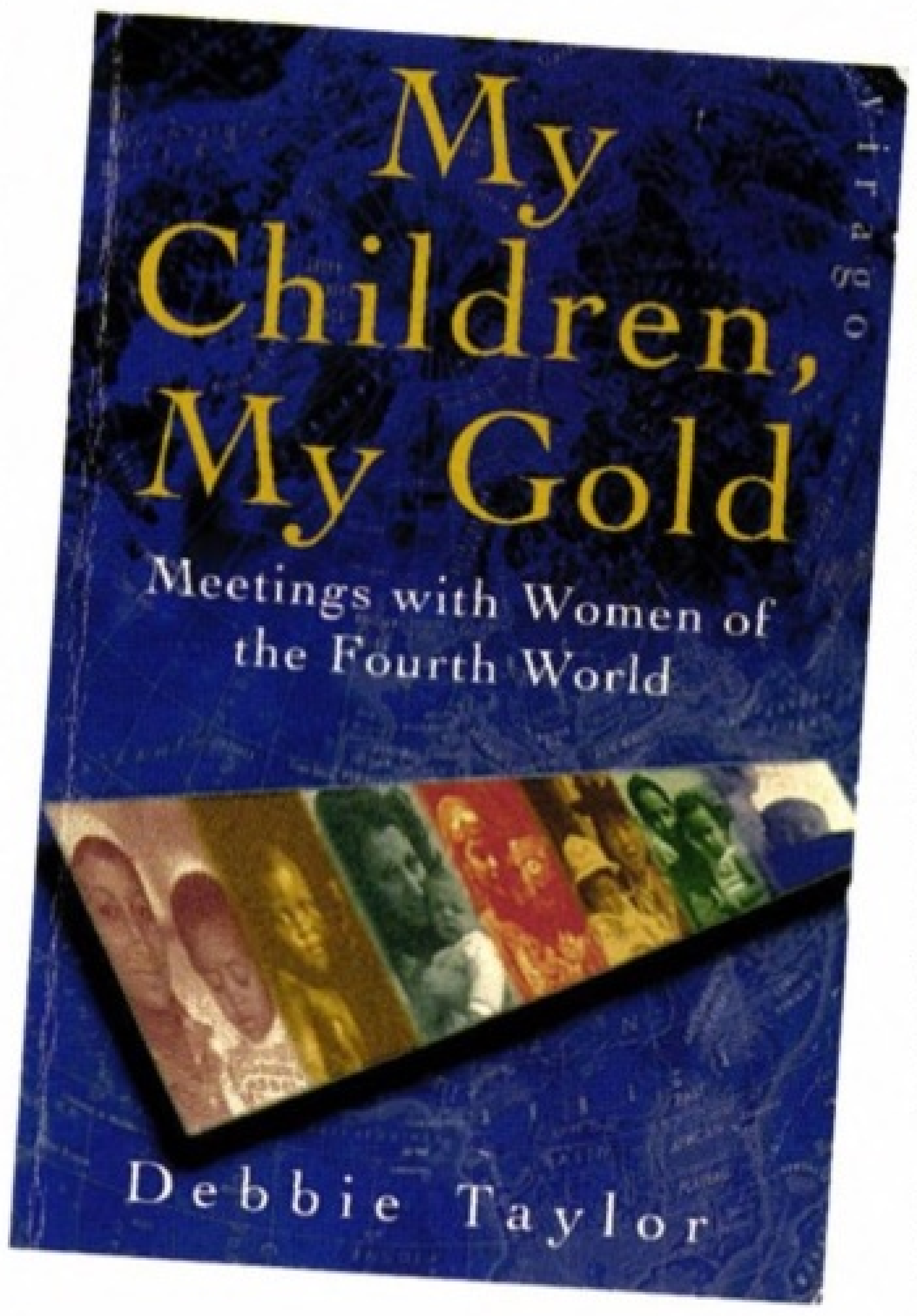
by **Debbie Taylor**
(Virago ISBN 1-85381-706-6)

'Perhaps I had too much,' says Jomuna, a widow in India. 'A good husband. Two beautiful children. Something had to be taken away.' Jomuna's fatalism mirrors the sentiments of many of the other single mothers that Debbie Taylor visits in this globe-trotting portrait of women in seven countries. All are women of the 'Fourth World' – Taylor's term for the woman-headed households that now make up a quarter of the world's families. These women may be divorced, widowed or single parents but they are all caught in the snare of poverty which is made worse by the shackling effects of patriarchy. As a Hindu widow Jomuna may not marry again. In China, no man will marry Hua since she already has a daughter from her first marriage. The one-child policy seems to apply only to women: men may jettison the girl-bearing wife and try again for the preferred male offspring.

Debbie Taylor draws a sensitive picture of the women and their surroundings. The 'new girl' prostitute in Trindade, Brazil, 'who couldn't have been older than sixteen' is described as 'winsome and willowy with fierce red lipstick on her uncertain mouth'. Each portrait is prefaced with scene-setting facts and then dives into the reality of huts, shacks and flats where the women live, bringing their lives to us through direct speech, anecdote, pathos and a light touch of humour. The author inserts herself into the narrative just enough to cement the bridge between the women and the reader without being obtrusive.

But there is a personal strand in this book: the author's own infertility and the concern shown to her by the women she is writing about. This concern leads to visits to various healers. And although Taylor is uncertain whether it was the 'greenish soup' in Uganda or the unchewable nut in India, something did the trick and she is now a mother herself.

Politics: ☆☆☆☆
Entertainment: ☆☆☆☆



film

Darkness in Tallinn

by **Illka Jarvilaturi**

Darkness in Tallinn is the first feature film to be made in the newly-independent country of Estonia. It opens with footage of farmers working the land – earnest images from the country's past which suggest that the film might be some rigorous examination of its recent history. The fact that it is shot in austere black and white adds to this sense. But it soon transpires that the filmmakers are wryly toying with expectations. **Darkness in Tallinn** is the first post-Soviet heist movie, reminiscent of all those 1960s 'caper' films. 'The Estonian Job' might have been a more fitting – and catchy – title.

The booty in this instance is of national import: during its brief period of independence during the two World Wars, the small Baltic country accrued for itself a treasury of $900 million in gold. This was sensibly stashed away in a Paris bank and was therefore beyond the reach of the German and Soviet invaders. Consequently the return of such treasures became a focal point of Estonia's celebration of its new-found independence – and also of the film.

In **Darkness in Tallinn** a bedraggled section of the Russian mafia has other plans.

These hoods, who operate from a revolving restaurant where they are served up their walkie-talkies on a silver platter, are hardly a slick-suited pack. They are mostly paunchy, wispy-haired or bald. The cruellest of them has an extremely long cigarette tucked behind his ear and goes by the name of 'Stub'. The plan of this motley lot is to turn the bullion into thin sticks of gold and shift it out of the country in cigarette packets. Such greed and corruption, after all, damages a state's health. And drawn into this cancerous mafia cell is a young electrician by the name of Tovio. He wants to goldline his family's future and thus takes leave of his heavily-pregnant wife Maria to assist the team by rewiring the national grid, so plunging the country into darkness.

Director Illka Jarvilaturi has created a brilliantly detailed and moody film; the chiaroscuro cinematography turns Tallinn into a city as memorable as the Vienna of *The Third Man*. But as with any truly good thriller, it is less the plot's mechanics that are of interest than all the ideas that flare up in the gloom. Certainly there is a sense of cynicism about the new country's prospects as, under the cover of darkness, the jaunty independence celebrations turn sour and a singsong disintegrates into a riot. Tovio and Maria, meanwhile, are the new generation of Estonians who are easily lured by lucre. As the film reveals, Midas could tell them a thing or two.

Politics ☆☆☆
Entertainment ☆☆☆

STAR RATING

Excellent	☆☆☆☆☆
Very good	☆☆☆☆
Good	☆☆☆
Fair	☆☆
Poor	☆

Reviews editor: **Vanessa Baird**

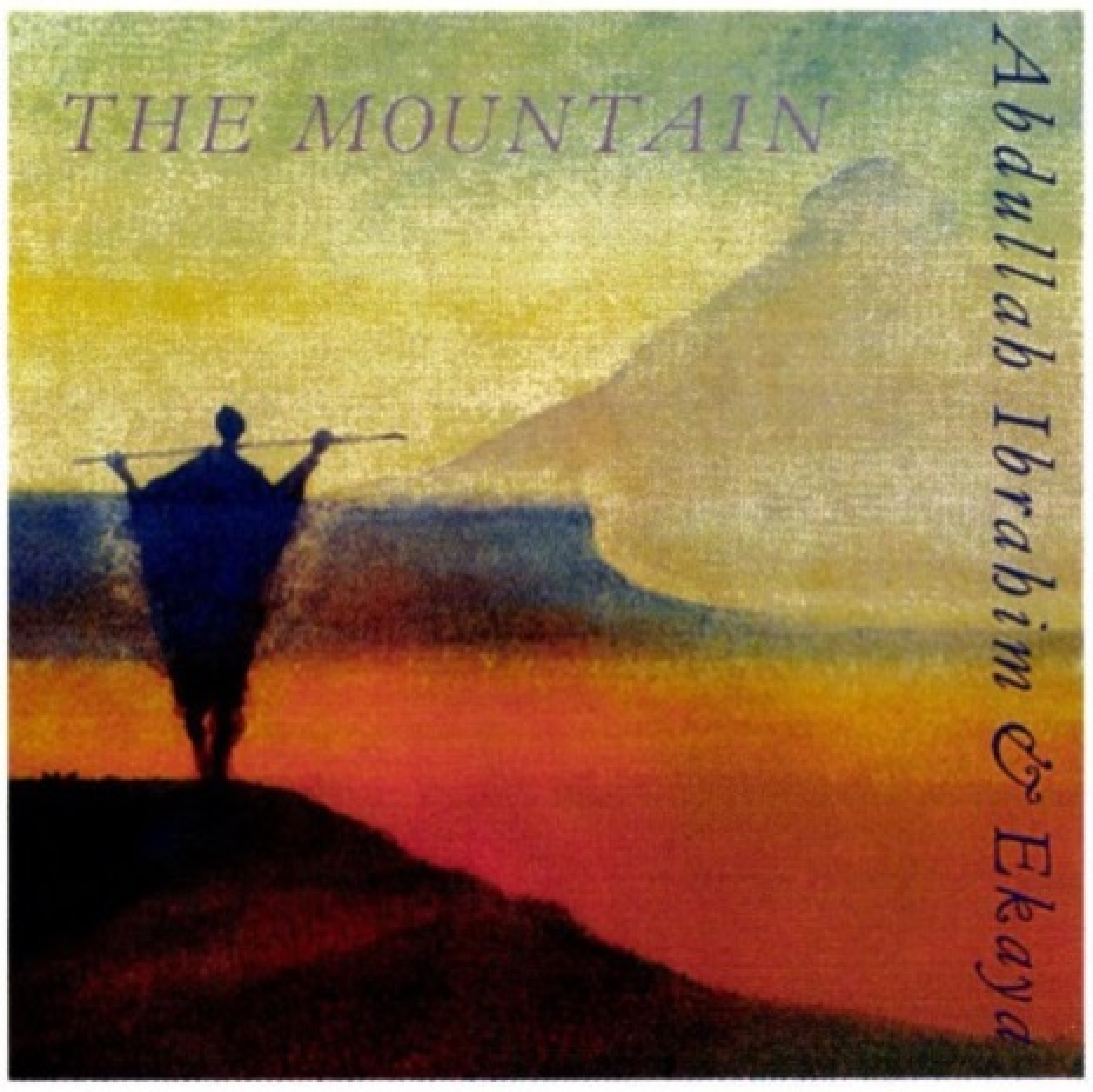
THE *classic*

The Mountain

...being the album that captures the essence of one of South Africa's greatest jazz musicians as he reclaims the roots of modern music.

When Nelson Mandela was inaugurated State President of South Africa on 10 May 1994 it was entirely appropriate that jazz of all varieties echoed around the concrete-and-glass heart of Pretoria, so long the bastion of Afrikaner power. The people had at last come into their own and were celebrating with the music that had sustained them through long years of hardship and struggle.

Entire books could be written on the part played by exiled South African musicians in rousing world opinion and keeping the spotlight on the fight against apartheid. The pianist and composer Abdullah Ibrahim – known as 'Dollar Brand' before his conversion to Islam in 1968 – played a central role in this ferment of musical and political expression, both inside South Africa in the 1950s and in exile thereafter. His tune *Mannenberg* – written in the 1970s and featuring the majestic saxophone playing of Basil Coetzee – was taken up as an anthem by the young people involved in the 1976 Soweto uprisings.



Abdullah Ibrahim was born Adolf Johannes Brand in 1934 in Cape Town. His father was a Basutu and his mother came from the San group. His grandmother was a church pianist and her influence is still evident in the sonorous roll and chiming chords of his playing. Brand's musical career began as a member of the vocal group, The Streamline Brothers, moving on to play piano in the Tuxedo Slickers and in Willie Max's group. Together with Hugh Masekela and Kipie Moeketsi, Brand formed his own group, The Jazz Epistles, in 1959. They were the first South African band to cut an album; all previous township jive releases had been 78s. Brand's early work with Masekela, Moeketsi and others has recently been released on a series of double albums by Kaz Records and the excitement and raw power of the music still takes the breath away. His debt to these pioneers of African jazz is one he constantly acknowledges both in his interviews and his song titles.

Dollar Brand became an expatriate in 1962, embarking on the circuit of international jazz festivals at Antibes, Palermo and Montreux. He was noticed by Duke Ellington, who provided the impetus behind his first recordings in Europe and a trip to the US. Since then Ibrahim has released a stream of material, backed by a constantly-changing roster of the jazz world's best musicians. Much of his music plays tribute to his homeland – such as *African Piano, African Sketchbook* and *Water From an Ancient Well.*

The sheer volume of Abdullah Ibrahim's output – and the patchy distribution of much of it – makes an overview of his work almost impossible. But it is possible to concentrate on the 1980s, a period in his career when Abdullah Ibrahim was at the height of his powers and supported by instrumentalists of genius. Fortunately there is a one-album primer which contains the cream of his work: **The Mountain**, released by Kaz Records in 1989.

Abdullah's band on this collection are Ekaya – meaning 'home' – and they handle to perfection his habit of blending traditional themes and melodies with space for improvisation. As well as Ibrahim's piano there are the integral elements of the brass-based jazz combo: alto, tenor and baritone sax; trombone, drums and bass. The mainstay of the group is the North American Carlos Ward on alto sax and flute. Ward's saxophone – Coltrane-influenced and with awesome purity of tone – is the supreme vehicle for Ibrahim's ideas, moving from written passages of tender lyricism to hard-blowing improvisation and back again without losing the musical thread. No-one listening to the sultry *Sotho Blue* or the joyous celebratory *The Wedding* or the lilting cadences of Abdullah Ibrahim's theme tune *Thabo Bosigo (The Mountain at Night)* could have any doubt that this is African Jazz, a reclamation of rhythms at the roots of so much modern music.

In common with so many exiles, the art of this composer has been nourished by deep roots in the history and culture of his home country. What he has done with that legacy, the beautiful and inspiring music he has wrought out of the joy and struggle of the peoples of South Africa, is a gift to the whole world. Ibrahim's voice speaks for all the exiles as we greet the new South Africa.

Hela! Ivapa!
(Listen! Hear!)
This is Ekaya
Welcome Home

Peter Whittaker

***The Mountain** by **Abdullah Ibrahim and Ekaya** is on Kaz Records CD7/LP 7 1989, distributed by BMG and Sterns.*

QUESTIONS

...that have always intrigued you about the world will appear in this, your section, and be answered by other readers. Please address your answers and questions to 'Curiosities'.

How is Aotearoa pronounced?

● Contrary to the answer given in **NI 235**, Aotearoa is not pronounced Ow-tee-a-ro-a. Good grief!

It is composed of three Maori words:

Ao (which means 'cloud'): pronounce as the two English words 'ah' and 'awe'. Keep them short and glide together.

Tea (which means 'white'): Say 'e' as in 'ten'; 'a' as in 'fast. A good approximation is the English word 'tear' (rhymes with 'pear') but leave off the 'r'

Roa (which means 'long'): The 'r' is tapped like a clipped 'l' and not trilled as in Scottish. Vowels as above.

If in doubt ask a Polynesian (Maori, Tahitian, Tongan or Samoan). But ensure they do not compromise with English by pronouncing 'a' as in 'fat' or 'fate'.

Ian Ascott
Christchurch, Aotearao/New Zealand

DAVID HURN / MAGNUM

Maori gathering in the 'land of the long white cloud'

Which country has been under colonial rule for the longest time?

● Further to the answer given in **NI 260**, Malta is a contender for having had the longest period of colonialism – whilst retaining a vigorous and non-submissive identity of its own. I define 'colonial rule' as the domination of a cultural and territorial entity by people who are mostly neither born there nor owing it their primary allegiance.

Here's Malta's history:

pre 600 BC - Neolithic and Bronze Age farmers
c. 600 BC - Carthaginian colony developed from Phoenician trading post
218 BC - Roman occupation after Punic wars
395 AD - Byzantine occupation
870 AD - Arab occupation
1091 AD - Norman, German and Spanish rule
1531 AD - Islands ceded to Knights of St John (a celibate order derived from the European Catholic aristocracy)
1788 AD - French occupation and revolt by the Maltese people.
1800 AD - British rule
1964 AD - Independence from Britain

Does nearly 2,600 years count as the longest?

Lesley Misrahi
St Pauls Bay, Malta

AWAITING YOUR ANSWERS

If 'crack' cocaine is more potent than cocaine powder why is it cheaper?

Duncan Wood
Weeting, UK

What is the title and who published JB Priestley's novel about the two men who founded the 'Institute of Imagistics'?

Anne Travers
Leeds, UK

Can anyone tell me if there are any environmental organizations which take direct action of a militant nature against those responsible for destruction of the rainforest in South and Central America and in South East Asia?

S Davies
London, UK

How, where and when did the tradition of female circumcision (or genital mutilation) originate?

Tariq M M Antar
Khartoum, Sudan

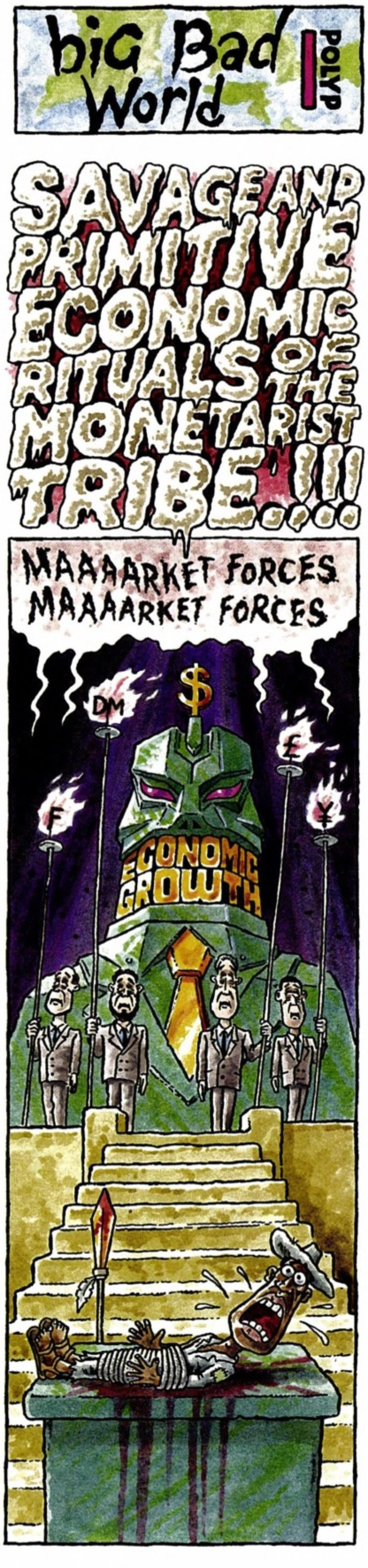
Six million is the figure commonly given for the number of people killed in the Nazi Holocaust. Has anyone got a more precise figure?

Jamie Janson
Watlington, UK

Which, if any, of the British commercial banks has cancelled its Third World debts – particularly in regard to sub-Saharan Africa?

Liza Sandell
Suva, Fiji

If you have any questions or answers please send them to Curiosities, **New Internationalist, 55 Rectory Road, Oxford OX4 1BW, UK,** or to your local **NI** office (see inside front cover for addresses).


big Bad World
POLYP
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ECONOMIC GROWTH

When the throne-lady smiles

Little did ***Victor Fung*** *suspect, when he fell in love, what it would mean to make a mistake and blow his connections in China.*

MY wife-to-be was five years old when she did the terrible deed. The year was 1973, at the height of the Cultural Revolution. The boy, one of her classmates, started playing around, saying Chairman Mao's name out loud, calling him stupid. And she began aping him.

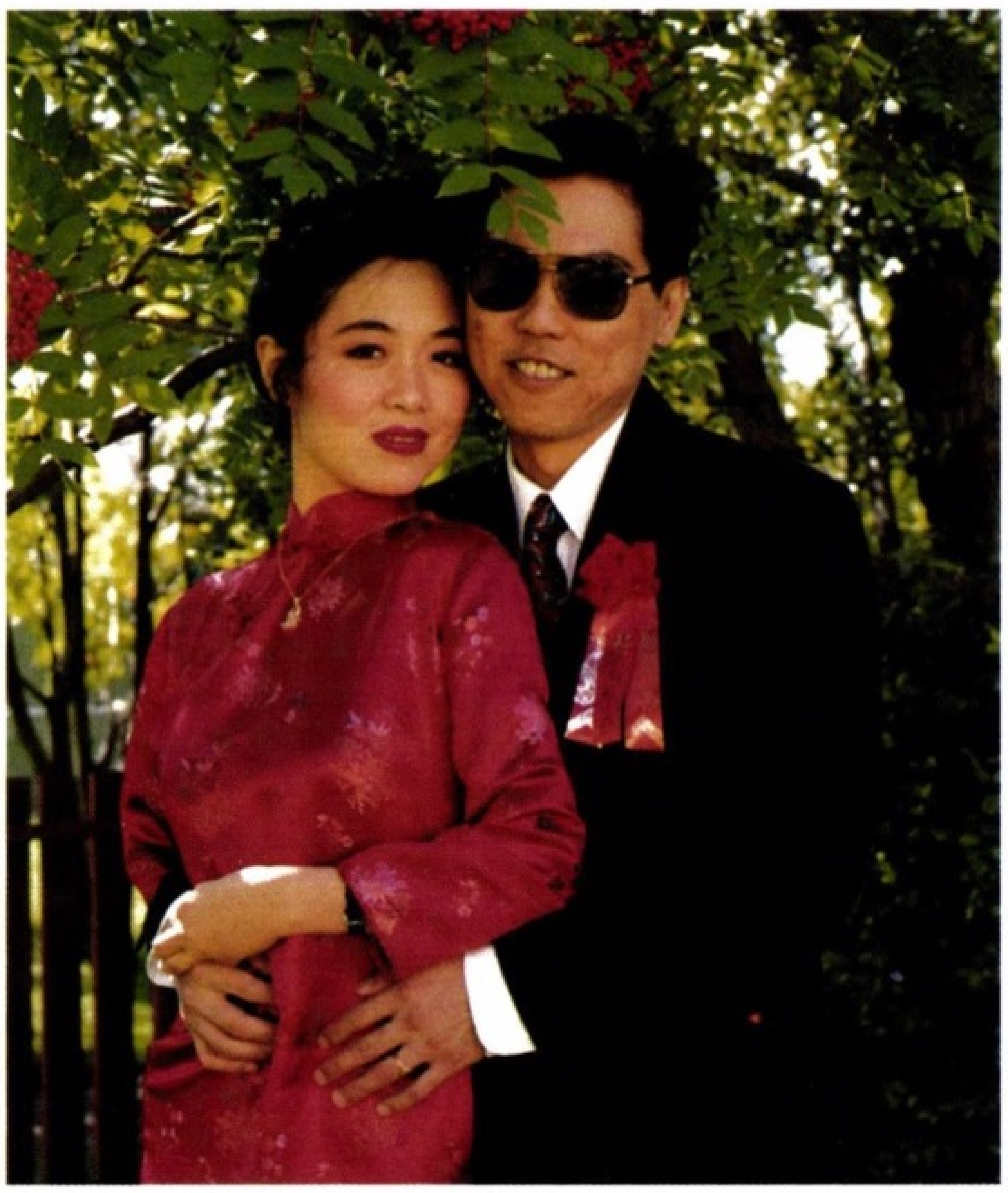
I was 12 and sneaking my first smoke behind my junior high back in Calgary, Canada, listening to the Stones' *Angie*, wondering how to cut my next class without getting caught.

When Xu Ji – that's my wife's name – got caught, she and her partner in crime were forced to bow to the Chairman's statue at the school gate every morning before being locked up in separate rooms. Then she was shipped out to the countryside with her father. Her mother was kept in the city and told to report every day to the school's assembly hall where she had to parade on the stage, chanting slogans from the Chairman's Red Book. Endlessly, day after day, back and forth. She was pregnant at the time and gave birth to a stillborn boy, a brother Xu Ji never knew.

So the question her mother wanted me to answer when I was asking for Xu Ji's hand in marriage was: how could I prove that I was going to take care of her little girl? Was I willing to write out a contract then and there and sign it?

I told her: 'Mom, I may look Chinese, but I'm a foreigner and maybe some foreigners aim to take advantage of Chinese girls, but I'm not one of them. If you won't take my word for it then go ahead and write up a contract and I'll sign it.' Once I'd given in she lightened up enough to flash me a smile every odd blue moon or so.

We decided to head south to Hainan, a sort of pre-honeymoon honeymoon. Hainan is the Hawaii of China, an island 32 hours south by train from Wuhan in central China where I worked. You can get away with a lot in Hainan because it is one of the five 'Special Economic Zones'.



Victor and Xuji – celebrating in Canada.

It was a shock to return to Wuhan and discover my *waiban* (translator and minder) had upped and run away to America while I was gone. She left all done deals undone, including a place for Xu Ji to stay in my foreigners' hotel.

Maybe I just wasn't thinking straight when I kicked up a fuss. The truth is it was a mistake, and a big one. I'd blown my *guanxi*, my connections. Without them you're dead. I started to learn first-hand what it means to make a mistake in China.

They called Xu Ji to a meeting from which I was barred. She checked into another hotel for locals – no ifs or buts. Then they began to pick away at me. No more visitors or phone calls without ID and official reason. All visitors out by 9.30pm. No exceptions. No female callers. My own mother couldn't get through to me. Then they kicked me out of my room altogether.

So I said to Xu Ji: 'Let's get married', like an idiot-foreigner, expecting all our problems to be solved in a couple of days.

We went on down to the Home Affairs Office, a two-hour bike and ferry trip across the river. Wrong office.

At the Provincial Office, buried in a back alley, the lady sat on a rattan chair like a throne. 'Five *yuan*, please,' she said as she handed us a little red book of instructions.

We went to Shiyan and got security clearance and permission from Xu Ji's work-unit leader to marry.

Back in Wuhan next day I took my records to the throne-lady. 'No, no, you must get proof you are single from your Embassy,' she said.

So we went to the Canadian Embassy in Beijing. The High Secretary asked me: 'You ever been married?' 'No.' 'Good enough for me.' Typical Canuck.

'No, no, you must get the affidavit translated,' the throne-lady said. 'I'm a *waiban*, I can translate it for you right here,' Xu Ji said. 'No, no. It must be an official translation by a special professor,' the throne-lady insisted. He charged us more than half a month's salary and took three days to translate one paragraph.

And we still had to contend with the throne-lady – on the days she was in. More often than not she'd be away – on personal business, her colleague would say. I visited that Provincial Office 14 times, Xu Ji 17 times.

'Listen, Xu Ji,' I said, 'why don't we just buy the old lady a small gift, maybe a bottle of perfume and maybe she won't be so damn ornery?' Xu Ji – raised too good a communist – kicked and hollered but finally caved in. And it worked like a charm. From then on the throne-lady was all smiles.

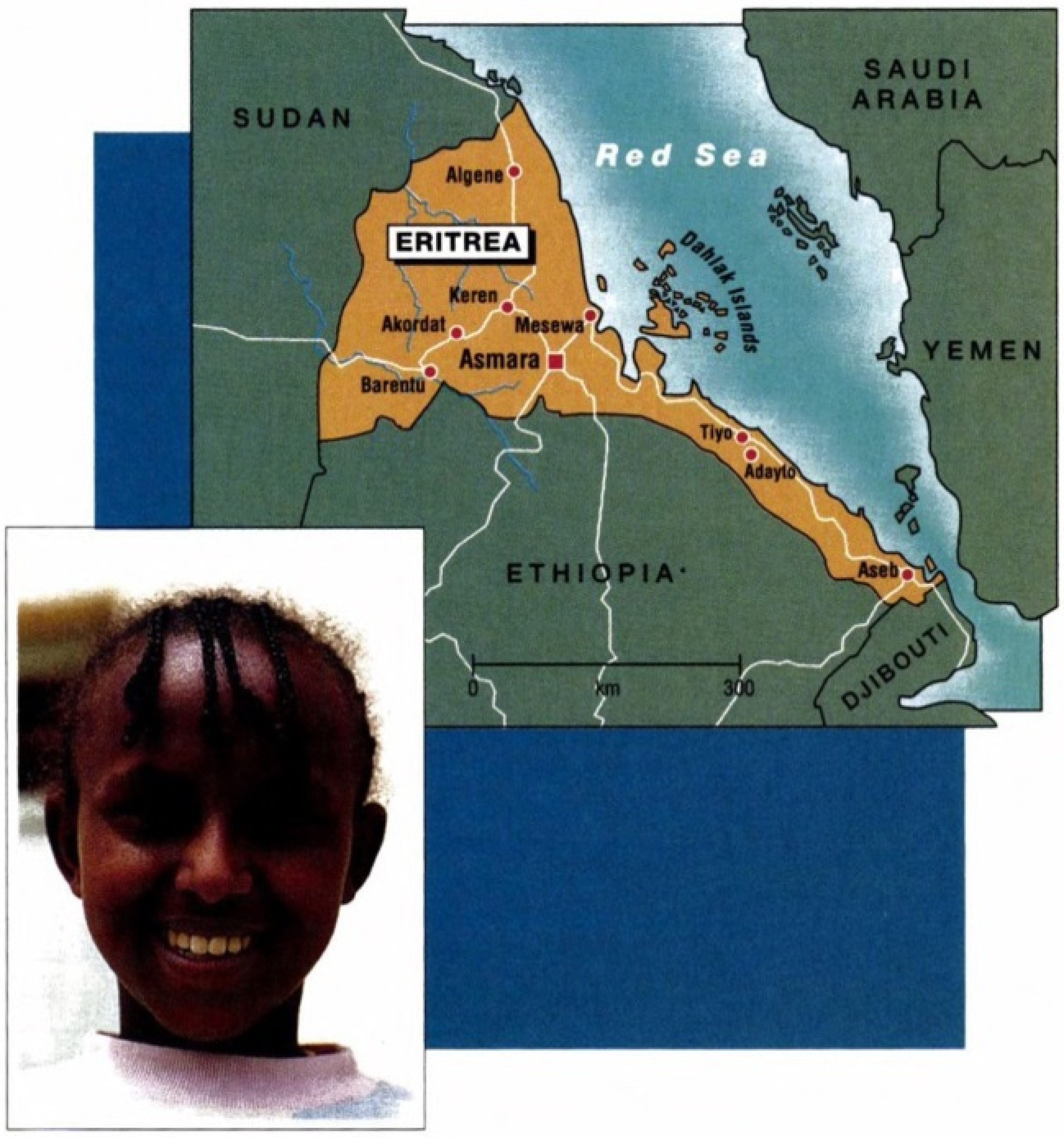
When our certificates were finally ready she phoned us up that very day and told us to come on down. As we arrived she was gluing our pictures to red plastic binders. A hush descended as she turned to the safe and took out the Holy Seal. With due ceremony she pressed it with a mighty chop down onto the certificates. Whomp! Once for Xu Ji. Whomp! Once for me. 'By The Authority Of The State And The Will Of The People I Hereby Give You This Wedding Certificate,' she said.

And that was it.

We were alone in our hotel room and Xu Ji was sitting by herself at the desk, the marriage certificates in front of her, a tissue poised delicately between her fingers, carefully dabbing at the photos to wipe off traces of glue. Every once in a while she'd hold it up to the light, then dab at it, then hold it up again, over and over. That was when it finally struck me. We were married. ■

Victor and Xu Ji now live in Canada

Eritrea



NEIL COOPER / PANOS PICTURES

The tree-lined boulevards of Eritrea's capital city, Asmara, give it a Mediterranean flavour – a legacy of its former years as an Italian colony. Eritrea celebrated independence in 1993 after defeating the Ethiopian 'Dergue' (regime) of Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam in 1991. Multi-party elections are scheduled for 1997 and until then power remains in the hands of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) – now renamed the People's Front for Democracy and Justice (PFDJ).

After the defeat of Italy in 1941, Eritrea was governed for 10 years by British mandate which stimulated the rise in Eritrean national consciousness and the formation of political parties. In 1950 a UN Resolution made the region a federated state within the Ethiopian empire but this ended with Emperor Haile Selassie's 1962 incorporation of Eritrea. In the struggle for independence, a conflict developed between the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) and the breakaway EPLF. The ELF, formed in 1958, was organized along ethnic and regional lines. The EPLF was influenced by Pan-Africanist and socialist trends sweeping the continent, with national unity and social development high on the agenda.

Regional stability is seen as essential to Eritrea's security but its position as a bridge between African and Arab worlds means that it is vulnerable to neighbouring ethnic and religious conflicts. Relations with Sudan are especially important given the half-million refugees who live there, subject to Khartoum's oppressive *Sharia* law.

Providing for the returning refugees is proving a headache for the Government and aid agencies. The UN repatriation programme is getting under way but suffers both from lack of money and from Eritrea's lack of infrastructure.

Yet the Government remains popular and freedom of speech and the rule of law prevail. Government officials, many former fighters, work for a pittance and the Eritrean people have earned themselves a high reputation among donors for their dedication and honesty.

How long Eritrea can sustain its stability is uncertain. Cracks are appearing as impoverished fighters vie for scarce resources with refugees and with rich returnees. Foreign remittances kept the struggle alive and are still essential to the economy but as market liberalization proceeds many Eritreans are beginning to question the value of their sacrifices. International investment has been slow and with a fast-growing population, unemployment is set to rocket.

But Eritrea's constant refrain is one of self-reliance and determination: 'We fought against the odds for 30 years and we can do so for 30 more. If you don't want to help us, leave us to do it ourselves.' ■

Jacky Sutton

AT A glance

Excellent	★★★★★
Good	★★★★
Fair	★★★
Poor	★★
Appalling	★

INCOME DISTRIBUTION ★★★

Wealthy returnees and middle class prosper. Subsistence economy in rural areas.

SELF-RELIANCE ★★

Depends on food aid; investment needed to kick-start viable economy.

POSITION OF WOMEN ★★★

Equal in theory; traditional attitudes in rural areas. Female circumcision widespread. Women hold 20% of seats in national assembly.

POLITICS

One-party state; aim is for multi-party democracy; equal rights for women; free speech; the rule of law.

LITERACY ★

20%. Even lower among women and nomads.

FREEDOM ★★★★

New freedoms since independence, but still one-party state.

LIFE EXPECTANCY ★

47 years, lower in rural areas and among nomads. *(US 76 years)*

Leader President Isiais Afwerki, EPLF's General Secretary.

Economy GNP per capita US$120 *(US $22,240)*
Monetary unit: Ethiopian Birr
Main imports: Machinery, food aid, tools, spare parts, crude oil, vehicles, construction materials, fertilizers.
Main exports: Hides, salt, leather goods, some fruit, petroleum products.

People 3.5 million (1 million refugees)

Health Infant mortality 123 per 1,000 live births *(US 9 per 1,000)*.

Culture Highland farmers and lowland nomads; also returnees who have added cosmopolitan influence. Fighters are an important 'class' with a dialect of their own.
Religion: Equally Muslims and Coptic Christians.
Languages: Official languages are Tigrinya, Arabic, English. Also: Amharic, Tigre, Italian, Samo, Beja, Kuname, Bilen, Baria.

***Sources:** 1991 Leeds University Study, National Bank of Eritrea; National Union of Eritrean Women; Economist Intelligence unit Country Profile 1993/4; Ministry of Agriculture; Commission for Eritrean Refugee Affairs; UNHCR; Ministry of Education; Ministry of Industry; Asmara University; Third World Guide 1993-4; The State of the World's Children 1994.*

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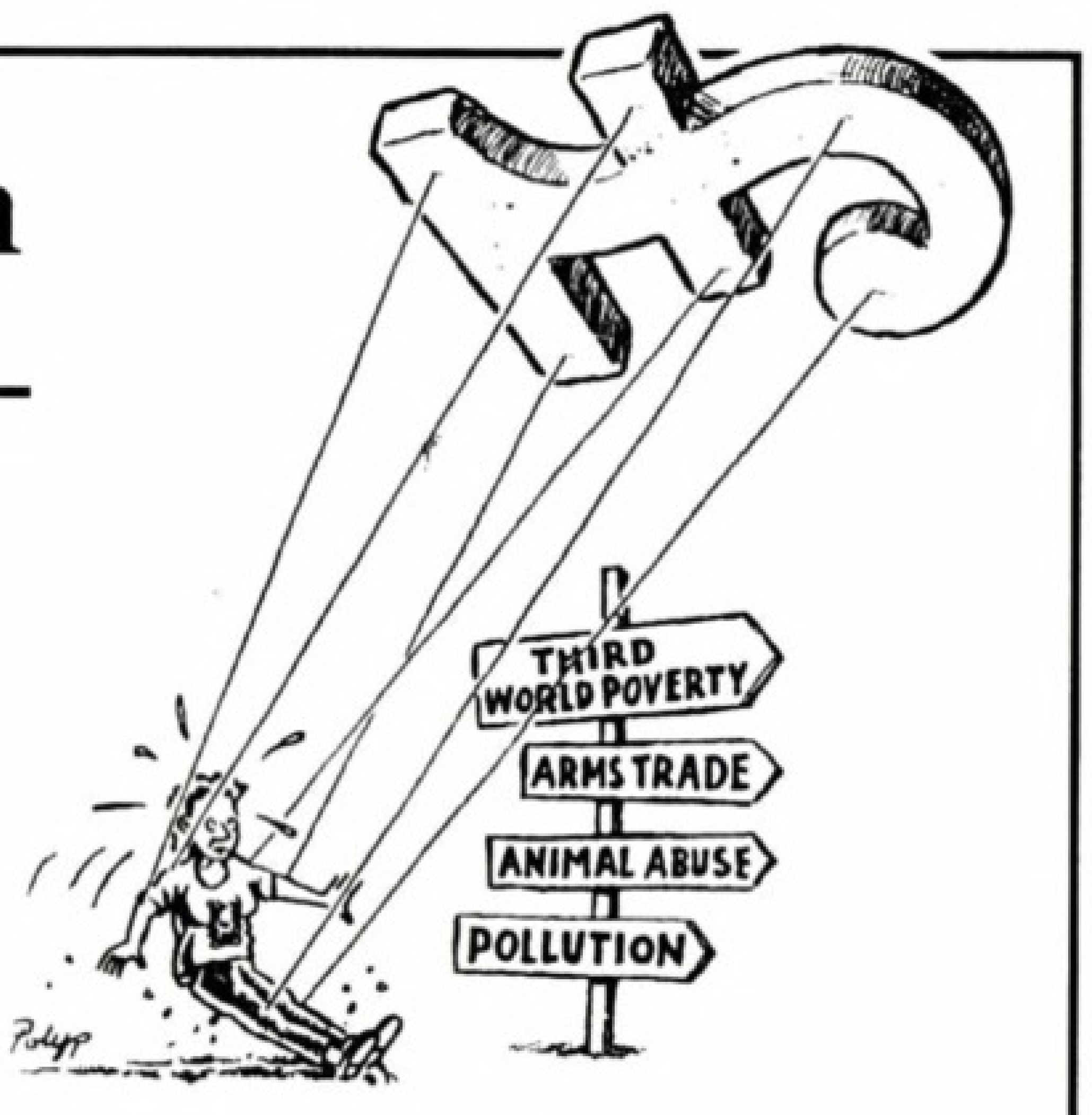

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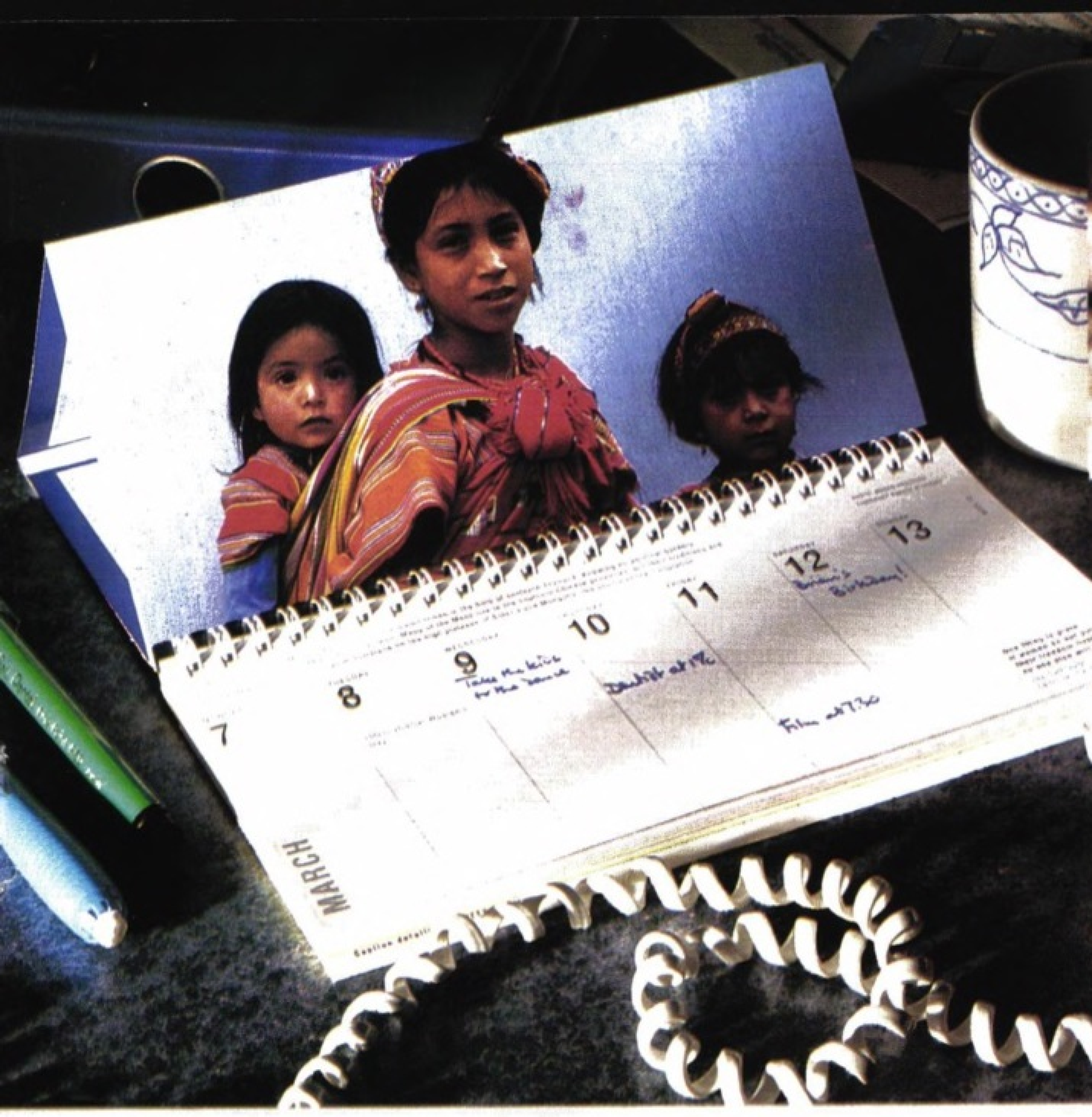

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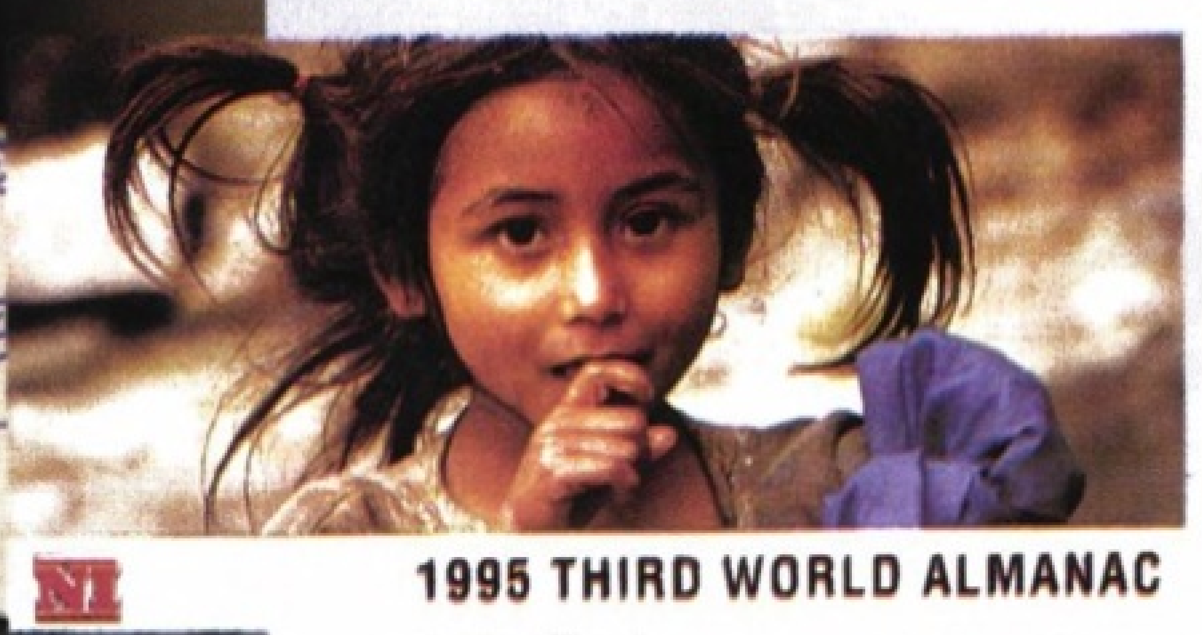


1995 THIRD WORLD ALMANAC

Your table-top photo diary

Quirky, joyful, illuminating, sad: 52 full colour photos, one for every week of the year are found in this photo diary. The week-at-a-glance format gives plenty of space for listing appointments and the cover opens into a unique triangular presentation so that the pages can be propped up to view and use. Size? At 8¼" x 4½" (21cms x 11cms) it is handy on the desktop or in a bag. Spiral binding ensures the almanac stays open and lies flat for writing. A practical, attractive and distinctive organiser.

Other features include:

● ***weekly quotation to inspire or provoke*** ● ***useful UN statistics on the world's people*** ● ***dates of festivals, religious holidays and anniversaries of the world's main religions*** ● ***a fold-out personal budget planner*** ● ***full colour up-to-date world map.***

EVERY WEEK'S PHOTO IN FULL COLOUR

Ref: 01368 **UK £8.95 • Can/US $17.95**

THE WORLD IN YOUR KITCHEN

THE WORLD IN YOUR KITCHEN
NI
TUNISIA
SIDE DISHES

Vegetarian recipes from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East for Western kitchens, with country information and food facts.

Taste the delights of world vegetarian cooking with the **New Internationalist**'s new food book - 150 recipes tested and adapted for you to cook easily at home. It's packed with exciting food ideas, many colour photos and fascinating facts.

More than a cook book:

● ***Over 25 full page colour photos*** ● ***Intriguing food facts for each recipe*** ● ***Attractive design and step-by-step cooking methods*** ● ***Full nutrition guide*** ● ***Vegetarianism set in the context of today's factory farm world*** ● ***Glossary of ingredients*** ● ***Hardback, ribbon marker. 176 pp***

Over 40,000 copies sold in the first six months of publication!

Measures 8¼" x 8¼"(21.5cms x 21.5cms).

Ref: 01309 **UK £12.99 • Can/US $22.95**

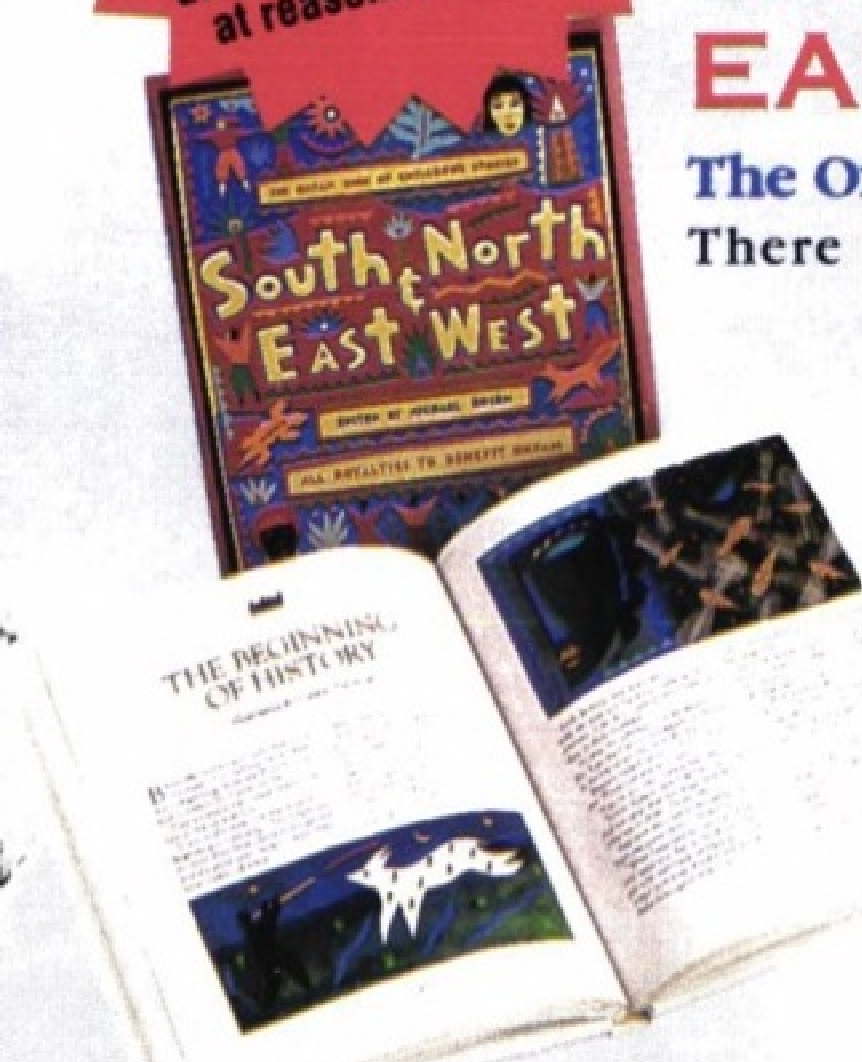
Canadian edition in conjunction with Second Story Press

THINK OF YOUR CHRISTMAS GIFT LIST

New Internationalist publications make thoughtful, exciting and different Christmas gifts at reasonable prices.

SOUTH AND NORTH, EAST AND WEST

The Oxfam Book of Children's Stories



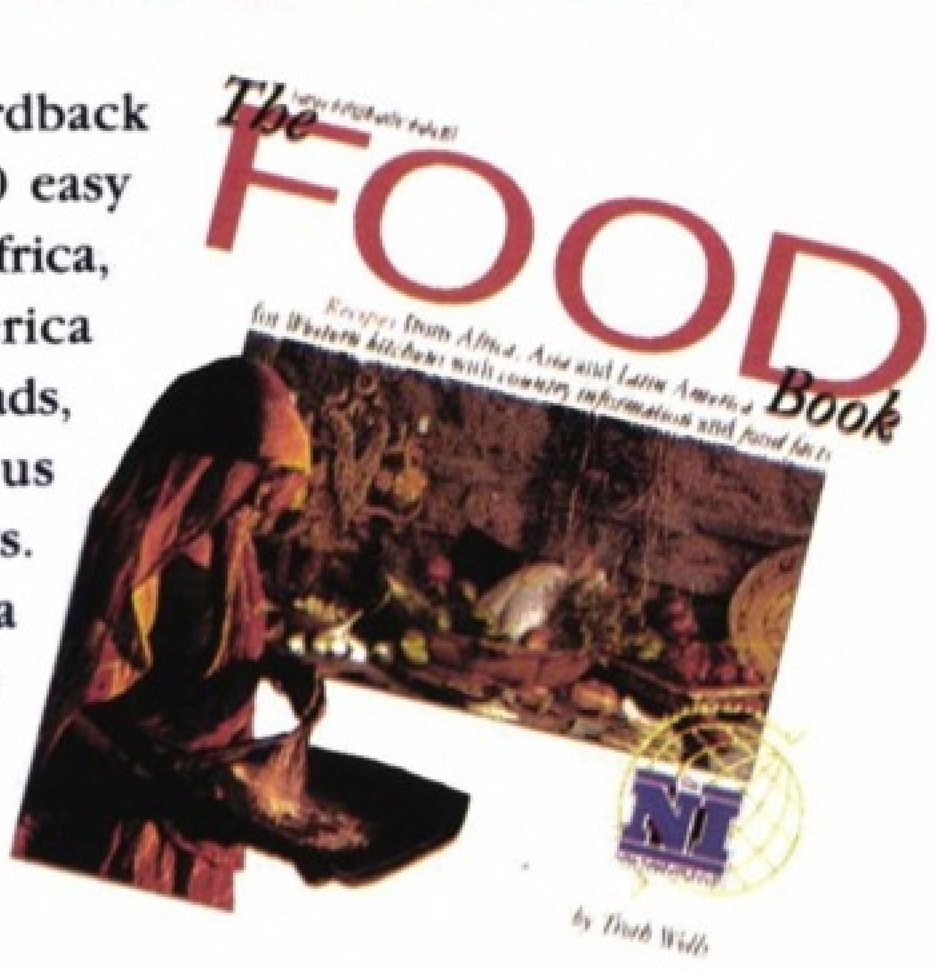
There are 25 bedside tales in this world-wide anthology including animal stories from Botswana and Indonesia, ghost stories from Jamaica and Vietnam, a creation myth from Brazil and many more. Each story is illustrated by one of the finest artists in the field.

Do you know a child who would like these stories? 99 pp.

Size 8¾" x 10½" (23 cms x 26.5cms)

Ref: 01279 **UK £12.99 • Can/US $24.95**

THE NI FOOD BOOK



This attractive wipe-clean hardback publication features over 200 easy to follow delicious recipes from Africa, Asia, Middle East and Latin America including sections on starters, salads, meat and fish, and desserts, plus country information and food facts. Numerous illustrations and a ribbon marker. With over 30,000 copies already sold, the book has become a best seller with good reason. 184 pp. Measures 8¼" x 8¼" 21.5cms x 21.5cms).

Ref: 01139 **UK £10.99 • Can/US $19.95**

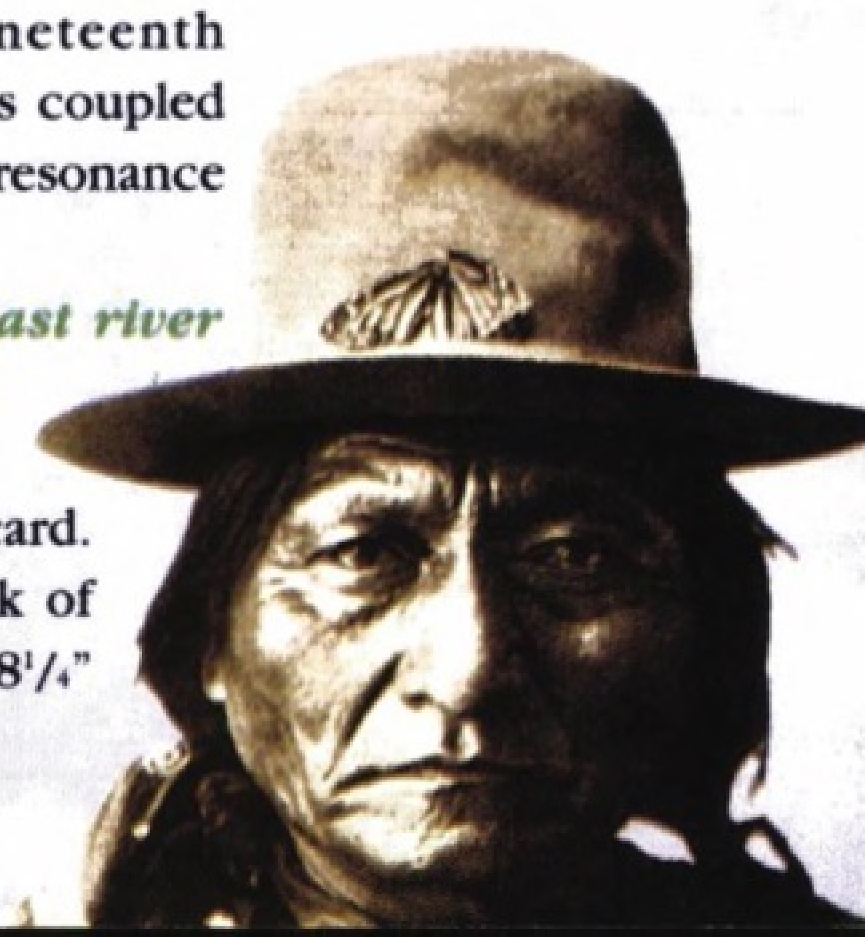
NATIVE AMERICAN CARDS

Wonderful sepia photo portraits of nineteenth century native Americans. Each picture is coupled with an environmental statement which still has resonance today including:

'Only when the last tree has died and the last river been poisoned and the last fish been caught will we realise that we cannot eat money.'

Cards printed on recycled parchment-style card. Inside is left blank for your own message. Pack of five different large cards, each measuring 5¾" x 8¼" (14.5cms x 20.5cms) plus envelopes.

Ref: 01252 **UK £3.95 • Can/US $7.95**



FACE THE NEW YEAR... with a Smile

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31
January 1995
NI NEW INTERNATIONALIST The people, the ideas, the action, in the fight for world development
Third World Calendar

COLOURFUL
WARM
VIBRANT

THE 1995 NI
THIRD WORLD CALENDAR

The NI Third World Calendar is a collection of twelve lovely pictures by some of the world's leading photographers. The images show the people of the South, their work, their culture and their environment. You'll appreciate the amazing variety of these photographs: from a villager making a bridge over a raging torrent in Indonesia to a cheerful washday scene in Cuba; from a cliff top village in Mali to monks praying before an extraordinary golden rock in Burma; from a Zimbabwean wedding couple to the herding of horses in Mongolia.

Since 1982 this classic calendar has set new standards for its sympathetic portrayal of people in the South. It's an affirmation of our one world – to be enjoyed all the year. It measures 22" x 11" (56cms x 28cms) and comes in a sturdy illustrated carton ready for mailing to a relative or friend.

Ref: 01317 **UK £8.95 • Can/US $19.95**

NEW

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE

Fresh this year, the reverse sides of the calendar photos use pictures and commentary to contrast images from the West with those of the calendar.

ARNO PETERS WORLD MAP

This distinctive map projection of the world vigorously challenges Euro-centric attitudes as shown on conventional Mercator maps – where European countries are shown twice their real size and where the Latin American and African continents are correspondingly smaller. By setting countries in their true relative size, the Peters' projection gives the world's people the most accurate portrayal of their planet.

The Arno Peters Map is the map for our day.

ARNO PETERS
WORLD MAP
JIGSAW PUZZLE

JIGSAW PUZZLE

Something adults and children can make together. Piece together Burkino Faso with Mali, Uzbekistan with Turkmenistan and Afghanistan ... and then try to locate the islands of the South Pacific! It's a geography lesson you don't even know is happening. Both educational and fun. Updated to include the latest international boundary changes. Guide map inside. Measures a big 33" x 20" (84 cms x 59 cms). 650 pieces.

Ref: 02003 **UK £8.50 • Can/US $18.50**

FREE OFFER

Order three calendars and/or almanacs (shown overleaf) to be sent to one address and claim your FREE pack of 10 full colour Third World Greeting Cards listed below.

THIRD WORLD GREETINGS CARDS

Ten cards featuring two of each of the five most appropriate calendar photos, plus envelopes. The cards are blank inside so they are useful for special occasions all the year. Representing good value, such quality cards normally sell for twice as much in regular stores. Each card measures a generous 8¼" x 3¾" (21cms x 9.5cms).

New this year: an attractive large presentation wallet, featuring the greetings card images enclosed, makes this a stunning gift.

Ref: 01333 **UK £4.95 • Can/US $9.95**

THIRD WORLD GREETINGS CARDS

NEW

ARNO PETERS WALL MAP OF THE WORLD

WIPE-CLEAN LAMINATED VERSION

Now in easy wipe clean format, this full colour map is an informative and striking addition for any home, office or classroom wall. Includes new states like Eritrea. It is hard wearing, impossible to tear and can be pored over and marked with felt pen. Cannot crease, comes rolled. Will last and last. 33" x 20" (84 cms x 59 cms).

Ref: 01341 **UK £6.50 • Can/US $14.95**